

in memoriam
KATY ROMANOU
1939-2020

Edited by Rosy Azar Beyhom
and Richard Dumbrill

Liber Amicorum
KATY ROMANOU
1939-2020

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and Richard Dumbrill

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ISBN



Katy Romanou (1939-2020)

Katy Romanou was retired Associate Professor in Musicology from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. She earned a Piano Diploma from the Conservatory of Athens, Greece; a Diploma of Decorative Arts, from the Doxiadis School, a Master of Music in Musicology from Indiana University and a PhD. in Musicology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

1959-1969: Member of the chorus, music instructor and drummer of the Peiraikon Theatron of Dimitri Rondiris during tours in Europe, Asia Minor, Canada, USA, Central and South America.

1974-1986: Music critic in the newspaper Kathimerini of Athens.

1975-1981: Producer of a radio emission of the Third Program of the Greek Radio and Television, under Manos Chatzidakis' directorship.

1981-1997: Teacher of music history, and musical forms in the Athenaeum Conservatory of Athens.

1982-1984: Teacher of music theory, music history, and musical forms at the Municipal Conservatory of the city of Argos.

1985-1995: Teacher of music theory, music history, and musical forms at the Municipal Conservatory of the city of Kalamata.

1987-1994: Teacher of music history, and musical forms in the Contemporary Conservatory of Athens.

1988-1989: Teacher of music theory, music history, and musical forms at the Municipal Conservatory of the city of Volos.

2006-2007: Professor at the department of Studies of Greek civilisation at the Open University of Greece.

2005-2009: Teacher of music history at the Athens Conservatory of Athens.

1994-2009: Professor at the Music Department of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

2009-2019: Professor at the Music Department of the European University of Cyprus.

Research projects:

Scientific responsible of the following projects:

Sponsored by the Special Research Account of the University of Athens.

1. Electronic database of the Corfu Philharmonic Society Archive, (2000-2002).
2. Research, recording and selective photographing of the polyphonic church music of Corfu, (2003-2004).
3. Restoration and digitisation of manuscripts of polyphonic church music from the Cretan Music Archive of the Philharmonic Society of Corfu, (2005).

(Kapodistrias Program , K.A. 70/4/4116)

Co-responsible with Melita Milin of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences of Belgrade of the research project Serbian and Greek music, a comparative study, (2005-2006). Sponsored by the General Secretariat for Research and Technology of Greece.

4. The Greek participation in the international program RIMP (Répertoire International de la Presse Musicale/Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals, 1800-1950 and 2007-).

In 2010 she participated in a program of university seminars sponsored by the Alexander Onassis Foundation in the USA, in a series of lectures on Greek music in four US universities. (CUNY-Graduate Center of New York, Yale University, University of Florida at Gainesville, University of Missouri in St. Louis).

Supervisor, and member of advisory committees of several doctoral candidates in Athens and Salonika, as well as the University of Copenhagen, the University Sorbonne Paris IV and the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse of Paris, the Boğaziçi University of Istanbul, the Royal Holloway University of London, Goldsmith University and the Royal College of Music of London.

She was Member of the Board of Directors of Hellenic Music Society (Hellenic Music Society); Member of the Onassis Foundation scholarship committee; Member of the Music Awards Committee of the Union of Theatrical and Musical Critics of Greece Member of the ASEP [Supreme Council of Personnel Selection Committee] 2001-2002; Member of the Advisory Board of DIKATSA [Inter-University Center for the Recognition of Studies in Foreign Countries]; Member of the Judgement Committee of IKY [State Scholarship Foundation]; founding member and member of the editorial board of the scientific journal *Musicology*.

Katy Romanou was a prolific writer and her books, articles and various other works are available from:

<https://en-uoa-gr.academia.edu/KatyRomanou/Articles,-Chapters>

NOTES OF THE EDITORS

The present volume of Nemo-online is special in many ways. As *Liber Amicorum* to the well-regretted Katy Romanou, this volume does not follow the usual Nemo-online editorial rules.

We felt that a special cover should be designed. Lorenda Ramou, one of the contributing authors gave a photograph of Katy Romanou from her own collection. We placed it on the back cover of the volume.

In the spirit of this special edition, we also wished authors that they freely expressed themselves in remembrance of Katy. Therefore, our editorial policy mainly focused on linguistic adjustments, layout and other editorial issues not interfering with author's main inputs. Thus, each contributor is responsible for their method and content.

While not peer-reviewed, this exceptional volume was nevertheless edited by Nemo-online with the concern of keeping a reasonable delay for publication after reception of all articles*, and from our original intention to preserve the emotional feelings of contributions in precedence to any other.

We hope readers will enjoy this volume which is a rather diversified compilation of writings spanning between tradition and modernity in Greek and Western music.

Finally, we would like to thank all contributors for their participation in the making of this volume, and also to all who gave us their support following our call for papers in this special Nemo-online initiative.

* We did not receive all articles at the same time. Both authors and editors were going through a very difficult year between Covid-19 lockdowns and daily online tasks.

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THE CHORUS REFORMATION IN MODERN PERFORMANCES OF ANCIENT GREEK TRAGEDY AFTER 1945:

The Suppliants (1964) of Iannis Xenakis and *The Persians* (1965) of Jani Christou

By: Andriana SOULELE*¹

In a century which had experienced two world wars, vast technological developments, volatile economic and socio-political conditions as well as a cultural revolution, the Ancient Greek civilisation served as a unique source of inspiration for many artists as they reflected upon and criticised the period. Ancient Greek tragedy, in particular, became the focus of artistic creation. Theatrical and literary works, dramatic performances, musical composition and scientific studies illustrated its revival throughout Europe. In Greece, various studies conducted by philologists and archaeologists contributed to the renewal of Ancient Greek tragedy², as did performances by both amateur groups and professional theatres³. In spite of political instability, the second half of the twentieth century appeared to be the most prolific. Numerous performances took place in ancient theatres⁴ during festivals organised throughout Greece. The most renowned was the Epidaurus Festival, inaugurated in 1954 by the famous stage director Dimitris Rondiris⁵.

Staging an Ancient Greek tragedy in the modern world was challenging for directors, actors, set and costume designers, as well as for choreographers and composers. Several constraints arose from the poetic form of tragedy, the function of the chorus⁶, the theatrical space and the translation and adaptation of an Ancient Greek text. Moreover, we have limited knowledge of productions in ancient times, especially with regard to staging and musical accompaniment. However, these challenges were regularly overcome creatively, depending on stage directors' general aesthetical approach. For instance, they could have taken all ancient drama

* Andriana Soulele, musicologist, researcher, educator, associate researcher to the University of Poitiers (CRIHAM) since 2009, Andriana Soulele participates in a research program (OPEFRA) concerning 20th – 21st century opera in France and directed by the professor Cécile Auzolle. In 2015, under the aegis of the Hellenic Musicological Society (of which she is member), she creates and coordinates RELMUS, a research group which works on the music relationships between Greece and France in the 20th and 21st centuries.

conventions into account, including masks⁷ and chorus singing, without necessarily being preoccupied with archaeological precision⁸; or, they might have chosen to eliminate some of these conventions, leading to an open field for theatrical experimentation. Implementing ancient drama conventions in contemporary performances could also create a new form of chorus⁹. In any case, stage conception directly affects musical work. The final outcome of the performance is shaped by the degree of creative collaboration between the stage director and the composer.

Composers may have the most difficult task, as they attempt at respecting staging aesthetics and coordinate interactions between music, text, movement, action and dramatic interpretations. They must also handle the multiple functions of the chorus and perhaps the limited musical abilities of the actors which may hinder their work. Additionally, their music depends not only on their personal style and aims, but also on diverse constraints related to production, including open or closed theatre performances, financial budgets and the number of musicians engaged. Nevertheless, Greek composers succeeded in writing remarkable music for representations of Ancient Greek tragedy. They frequently used electroacoustics and elements from traditional or Ancient Greek music or even from the musical cultures of Africa, Asia or South America, for example¹⁰. After analysing a number of Greek incidental music scores composed after 1945, it has been noticed that the instrumental parts contained elaborate rhythms and melodies. They reflected composers' individual styles which would be considered as atonal, dodecaphonic or serial. The choral parts were much simpler in order to facilitate choristers' singing. The choices of instrumentation and rhythmic and melodic structure (traditional rhythms, modality, use of micro-intervals, etc.), often illustrated the strong influence of Greek traditional or extra-European music. Associating characteristic elements from these musical cultures with current avant-garde music created unusual instrumental ensembles, rich timbres, original sounds, rhythms and melodies. It also offered distinct solutions to the chorus form and presence on stage.

When considering the chorus as well as the actors' limited musical skills, the first decision would be whether to compose polyphonic or monophonic choral melodies. Composers usually wrote monophonic choral music either because the stage director adhered to the principles of ancient tragedy or because the chorus members were not capable of complex musical interpretations. However, if this

obstacle were overcome and should the production conditions be favourable and approved by the stage director, composers could choose to write music for a polyphonic chorus. They could then develop the vocal parts and modify the common group interpretation by occasionally using polyphonic melodies for a small number of soloists. For instance, Georges Couroupos¹¹ composed polyphonic modal melodies for eight independent, parallel female voices for Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (staged by Alexis Minotis¹² and performed by the National Theatre of Greece in 1979). Under different conditions, Theodore Antoniou¹³ composed a canon in order to facilitate the actors' singing in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*¹⁴ in 1967 (Figure 1).

YPNE
Choriko apo mousiki gia ton Philoktiti tou Sophokli
 TH. ANTONIOU

1.50 *p*

A: l' - pne pou svi - nis tis li - pes pou - svi - nis tous po - nous e - laa - pa - los san a - ge - ri

B: To fos a - po ta ma - tia ske - pa - se to fos To

C: fos ske pa - see si to - fos i - pne i - pne i' - - -

37 CODA *pne.*

Figure 1. Theodore Antoniou, *Philoctetes*, choral chant, third *stasimon*, canon (with permission of the composer's son, William Antoniou).

In addition to monophonic and polyphonic styles, it is fundamentally important to determine the kind of musical language which best suits a tragic chorus. Greek composers identified key sources leading them to inventive and atypical composition choices searching among various musical traditions. For example, while Manos Hadjidakis¹⁵ was writing the music for *Medea* in 1956¹⁶, he was clearly influenced by the rhythms and melodies of popular Greek urban music, or *rebetiko*¹⁷. We may also consider George Sicilianos's¹⁸ music for the *Madness of Hercules*. It was staged by Takis Mouzenidis¹⁹ and performed at the National Theatre of Greece during the Epidaurus Festival in 1960. The choral parts were derived from a deep philosophical prosodic study of the text and characterised by monody, modal melodic lines and intervals of perfect fourths. These elements suggest some affiliation to Ancient Greek music. Moreover, in order to follow Giannis Houvardas' audacious stage concept, Georges Couroupos wrote a tango for Euripides's *Alcestis*²⁰. It was performed at the National Theatre of Northern Greece in 1984. Couroupos was even inspired by traditional Lebanese music²¹ for his choral melodies in *Trojan Women*. This Euripidean tragedy was directed by Andreas Voutsinas²² and performed at the National Theatre of Northern Greece in 1987²³.

It seems that traditional Greek music rises above any other source of inspiration for the majority of Greek incidental music. This is particularly evident when staging aesthetics are based on traditional approaches²⁴ which clearly influence instrumentation, rhythmic and melodic developments, as well as the relationship between text and music. Religious, bucolic or funeral choral parts favour music inspired by Byzantine chant or traditional songs such as the *dimotiko. Rhesus* from Euripides is an example which was performed at the National Theatre of Greece in 1968. It was staged by Takis Mouzenidis²⁵. Couroupos's score for this production includes vocal and incidental sounds which were transformed electro-acoustically; with reel-to-reel recorders; combined with pentatonic melodies, diatonic or chromatic tetrachords and traditional rhythms such as unequally divided 9/8 and 8/8 meters (Figure 2). For the performance of Euripides's in 1960, *The Phoenician Women* at the National Theatre of Greece, directed by Alexis Minotis, Mikis Theodorakis²⁶ wrote complex serial instrumental parts. They alternated with monophonic choral melodies, based mainly on diatonic tetrachords, pedals or *isson*²⁷, and Greek rhythms in 9/8 meters (Figure 3). Then, Dimitris Dragatakis's²⁸ score for *Antigone* by Sophocles,

performed at the National Theatre of Greece in 1969 and staged by Lambros Costopoulos, evoked the traditional music of Epirus. Modal melodic lines, augmented intervals and chromatic tetrachords were perfectly assimilated to the composer's personal atonal language²⁹ (Figure 4).



Figure 2. Georges Couroupos, *Rhesus*, first *stasimon*, part A (copy of the manuscript score, with permission of the composer).

EURIPIDES, *THE PHOENICIAN WOMEN*:
third choral ode, second *stasimon*



Figure 3. Mikis Theodorakis, *The Phoenician women*, second *stasimon*, antistrophe (Theodorakis, Mikis: *The Phoenician women. Full score* [1960], Romanos Editions, (Athens, 2004). With permission of the composer).

The musical score extract shows three staves: Clarinet, Chorus, and Santour. The Clarinet staff has a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The Chorus and Santour staves share a bass clef and a 2/4 time signature. The Santour staff is grouped with the Chorus staff. The score includes lyrics in Greek: 'καὶ νῦν χτε-' (kai nun chte-) and 'ρεύ - εις στ' απα- λά της κό-ρης μά γου-λα έ - ρω έ-ρω-τα ε - ε' (reú - eis st' apá- lá tēs kó-rēs má gou-la é - rōw é-ró-τa ε - ε). The music features complex rhythms and time changes, with dynamic markings like 'f' (fortissimo) and various time signatures (2/4, 3/4, 6/8, 9/8) indicated above the staves.

Figure 4. Dimitris Dragatakis, *Antigonae*, extract from the *kommos*, (reproduced from the original handwritten score, with permission of the composer's daughter, Vassiliki Dragatakis-Koronidi).

Iannis Xenakis and Jani Christou incorporated much more experimentation into their musical scores than any other Greek composers of the period. They were inspired by Greek traditional music and Byzantine chant, as well as music and rituals from extra-European cultures. The music composed for *The Suppliants* in 1964 and *The Persians* in 1965, included highly innovative concepts of the tragic chorus³⁰.

The Suppliants was directed by Alexis Solomos and performed on the 26th of July 1964 at the National Theatre of Greece during the Epidaurus Festival. Ioannis Gryparis translated the text, Giannis Pappas was in charge of set design and Agapi Evangelidi choreographed the performance. Xenakis aimed at giving music a dominant role in this theatrical production which was completely in line with Solomos's perspective of stage direction. Hoping to revolutionise the action on stage, Solomos chose the incorporation of primitive elements, such as irrepressible passionate screams, where music was also a factor³¹. He gave clear instructions for the character and action of each *stasimon* (i.e., ritual, melancholy, hysterical fear and joy) and identified the most appropriate kind of music for them such as collective songs, declamation or monotone recitative. His intention was to represent the choral parts from Aeschylus as fanatic rituals such as exorcisms, magic and the summoning of

the forces of the sun and of the moon where passion is expressed through collective hysteria, unarticulated screams and irrational passion³². Solomos traced mass-movement in his theatrical approach. Xenakis followed his lead, considering that the right music, the right dance, dysfunctional percussive interpretation and mass movement could provide a much-needed, contemporary breath of fresh air to tragedy³³.

Xenakis produced music from three different sources, firstly a reel-to-reel recorder for orchestral parts³⁴, secondly various musicians playing live music by the stage, and thirdly choristers playing percussion instruments. The composer emphasised the chorus and its function. Chorus members were invited to dance, to act and to play music. Additionally, they were asked to perform songs with symmetrical rhythms and simple melodic lines reminiscent of traditional Greek music. Their interpretation also required flat voices for the pronunciation of vowels and consonants in a special manner which Solomos claimed that it strengthened the words³⁵. Xenakis avoided the usage of any Western musical language because he thought it would be inappropriate for the purpose of tragic chorus. Instead, he preferred reconsidering melodic and rhythmic structures of demotic songs and Byzantine chants which survived from antiquity³⁶. The instrumental parts reveal Xenakis's characteristic style through the use of micro-intervals and numerous *glissandi*. However, the choral parts are often accompanied by the Greek traditional instrument, the *souravli*³⁷ and are characterised by diatonic and chromatic tetrachords, perfect intervals of the fourth, pedals, or *isson*, singing for one or two voices, melody and pedal, and with a syllabic style (Figure 5).

The main innovation in this work is the massive introduction of a large number of percussion instruments³⁸ played by the chorus while moving about the stage³⁹. This musical accompaniment, or auto-accompaniment, offered the chorus new sound dimensions as well as new group and dance movements. This allowed Xenakis to implement the concept of sound-masses as well as spatial perceptions of sound⁴⁰. Dance, choral declamation, asynchronous voices and singing shifted from order to disorder, combining different texts with shouts and hysteria creating chaotic sound clouds at particular moments of the tragedy⁴¹. These masses of sound were reminiscent of primitive rites and revitalised the typical performance of the chorus.

first strophe

Chorus

5 Va - si - le - a ton va - si - le - on ma - ka - ri - on ma - ka - ri -
o - tq - te kai mes s'ol - ez pan - y - per - ta - ti e - xou - si - a kli - ne pros
10 fin de - i - si mas ol - vie Di - a
15 third strophe 3 pou ar- ro - sti - a den ta pia - nei fel - la - me - ni apo tin ath - li
18 a tis sum - fo - ra

Figure 5. Iannis Xenakis, *The Suppliants*, verse 524, extracts from the first and third strophe (reproduced from the original hand-written score and with permission of Mâkhi Xenakis © Archives of the Xenakis Family).

According to the composer, these sound dimensions and percussion instruments brought diverse new directions to Greek tragedy⁴². This is particularly true for *The Suppliants*. Xenakis creatively influenced sound production, stage direction, costumes and set design by stitching small instruments, such as bells and sistra, to the choristers' costumes. He also placed larger instruments, such as drums, around the set⁴³. Alexis Solomos believed that an innovative contribution to the theatrical interpretation of tragedy was made using a variety of instruments and creating a rich, flexible, and mobile sound mosaic with musical passages going from complete order to total disorder⁴⁴. Music emerged spontaneously from on-stage action, actors' movements and instrumental accompaniment. The composer said that the direction of choristers to play music resulted in the synchronisation of musical mobility and staging⁴⁵. In *The Suppliants*, Xenakis focused on creating sound-masses and on how sound was distributed through space. As a consequence he introduced original avant-garde music concepts which were largely developed in his later works such as *Oresteia* in 1965-1966⁴⁶, *Terretektorkh* in 1965-1966, and *Nomos Gamma* in 1967-1968⁴⁷, which contributed to the creation of new forms of musical expression⁴⁸.

Jani Christou's⁴⁹ music for *The Persians* illustrated another very imaginative concept for Greek tragedy. This Aeschylian tragedy was directed by Karolos Koun⁵⁰ and performed at London's Aldwych Theatre by the Theatre of Art in April 1965⁵¹,

Giannis Tsarouchis was the set designer, costumes were conceived by Giannis Moralis and the choreography was signed by Maria Kynigou. Koun and Christou influenced each other's works. Koun envisioned *The Persians* through Christou's music and Christou mentally staged the ancient tragedy while composing the score⁵². Christou believed that the text constituted a score where the sounds were added afterwards⁵³. Koun embraced Christou's concept that music should have a primary function in the performance as well as original ideas for the chorus.

The complex score of *The Persians* was written for reel-to-reel tape recorder (prepared piano and 'musique concrète'), a wind ensemble, strings and percussion⁵⁴ as well as a singing and reciting chorus. It is characterised by dissonant and chromatic developments, various rhythmic motifs and an important role for percussion instruments. As for the *stasima*, most were recited normally and rhythmically by soloists and by the chorus. They were often accompanied by percussion, such as tam-tams and timpani. The singing included a smaller part of the score. However, its hieratic and psalmodic aspect was heavily influenced by Byzantine chant⁵⁵, especially by the pedals or *isson*, the chromaticism of melodic lines, tetrachords and their limited range (Figure 6).

The image shows three staves of handwritten musical notation for 'The Persians' by Jani Christou. The notation is for a bassoon, with lyrics in Greek. The first staff begins with a dynamic of *mf* and lyrics 'χι'ε - σεις του χά πω χόσ μου ἀ - γιες Θε - ὁ - τη - τες Ερ - μή χαι Γη'. The second staff begins with a dynamic of *f* and lyrics 'στειλ - τε στο φως ε - πά πώ την φυ - χή του στειλ - τε στο φως'. The third staff begins with a dynamic of *ff* and lyrics 'ε - πά - νω την φυ - χή του'. The score includes various dynamics (mf, f, ff, p) and performance instructions like 'ancora più' and 'perdendosi'.

Figure 6. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, second *stasimon*, invocation of Darius's spirit (reproduced from the handwritten score, with permission of Sandra Christou, Archives Jani Christou).

Christou's incidental music for *The Persians* is unique. It influenced how the text was interpreted, and it innovatively shaped the form and function of the chorus. Some of Christou's techniques for the interpretation of the chorus such as the mixing of various songs with verses recited, asynchronous performances and various superimposed voices and texts, can be traced to other incidental musics such as Xenakis's *Oresteia* written in 1965-1966. However, Christou applies these

techniques differently. His broad, dramatic musical imagination goes beyond the borders which define how the chorus should be performed on stage. Koun also wrote stage instructions onto the score. Some passages of the text of the actors, the full text of the chorus, movements and every possible nuance of expression were written down in order to determine their relationship with the music⁵⁶.

Christou used the chorus, chant and diverse declamations as sound-material which developed musically throughout the performance. The composer used the chorus as a way to reproduce the primitive emotions of tragedy. He focused on placing words and phrases in a way which created forms of autonomous vocal sounds with varied textures⁵⁷. Christou considered the chorus as a complex multi-instrument which occupied a dominant place in *The Persians*. The human voice served as a large canvas, ranging from speaking to singing or shouting, producing all possible vocal sounds and expressions such as wailing, mourning as in a psalmody, *glissandi*, screaming, crying and breathing sounds such as sighing, inhaling and exhaling⁵⁸. He also used rhythmic possibilities of the Greek language and every nuance from *pianissimo* to *fortissimo* in order to emphasise particular text fragments (Figures 7 and 8).

Messa-Wail

ATOSA

ff shrieked in grief — *sliss*

WEMEN

fff - high-pitched wail

Agoo, aye! mas, exoo, wip, wip, exoo! mas, exoo, Addaa! --- exoo! mas

Exoo! mas, exoo, wip, Addoo! --- exoo! mas

very fast

semi-chorus

howling with grief. fff

Figure 7. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, *kommos*, chorus, (manuscript score, with permission of Sandra Christou, Archives Jani Christou).

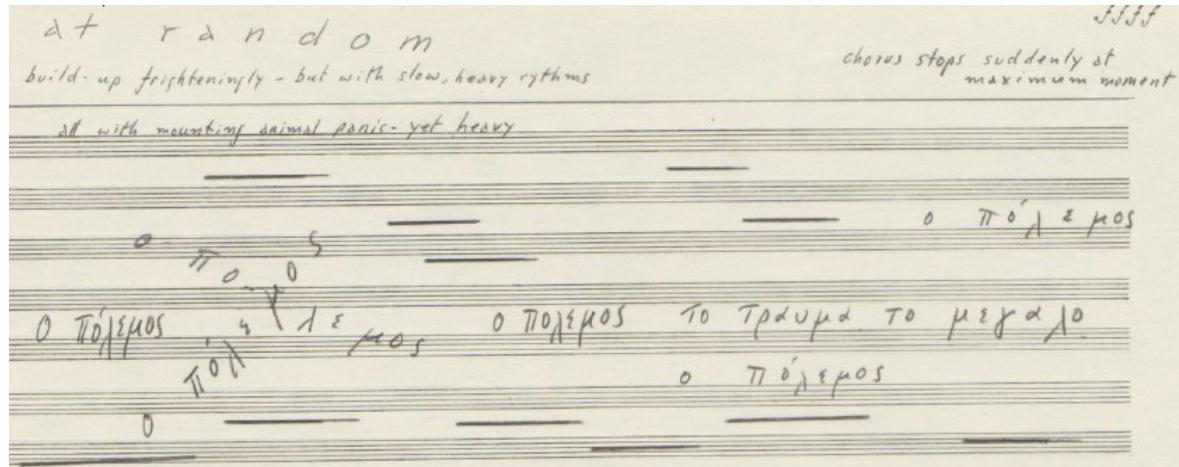


Figure 8. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, end of the third *stasimon*, chorus, and random declamation (manuscript score, with permission of Sandra Christou, Archives Jani Christou).

Separating the chorus allowed Christou to divide and redistribute the text, add repetition and use it freelier. He separated key-words and phrases and created rich, rhythmic, melodic patterns (Figure 9). One or more choral groups or soloists performed these patterns, while others recited different text fragments, often simultaneously. Christou applied different *tempi*, rhythms, dynamics, as well as various accentuations and techniques. These included rhythmic or polyphonic style, as well as a question-answer game, and the canon. Thus, he orchestrated the chorus in an ingenious way which diminished the use of instruments (Figure 10). His proposed vocal interpretation offered more vigour to recitations, dialogues, complaints and to the lamentations of the chorus. It also marked crucial moments of stage action and brought out a profound meaning to the text. Even though music had a crucial role, the text was always at the forefront. As a result, Christou reformed the performance of the chorus both musically and theatrically. Staging and musical interpretation became one dependent on each other and being inseparable.

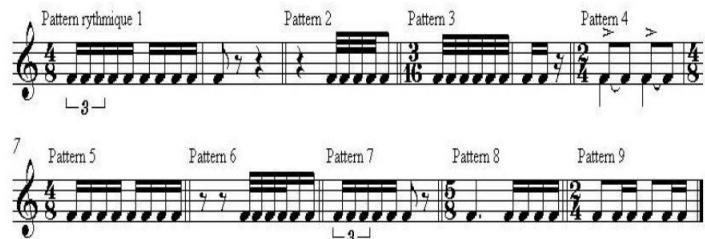


Figure 9. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, patterns (reproduced from the hand-written score, with permission of Sandra Christou, Archives Jani Christou).

Figure 10. Jani Christou, *The Persians*, second *stasimon*, Darius' spirit invocation (manuscript score, with permission of Sandra Christou, Archives Jani Christou).

The Persians is considered the most unique work of its genre by many Greek composers, including Couroupos and Antoniou⁵⁹ as it encompasses a vocal realisation blurring the boundaries between speech and music. These two elements are unified at a higher level which could surpass the opera form. According to Anne-Martine Lucciano, the dichotomy between text and music ceased to exist with this production. Instead, an integrated sound-substance arose from two heterogeneous sources⁶⁰. Christou made use of the immense musical possibilities of the voice at a larger scale. Lucciano believed he no longer valued the profoundly human dimensions of the voice and took it to the limits of sonorous possibilities, to the edge of the normal world, bordering on madness⁶¹. With this incidental music, Christou experimented, explored new methods of expression and significantly developed theatrical elements. This process contributed to ritualising musical interpretation in his future pieces. His work *Anaparastasis*, proto-performances or reenactments, written between 1966 and 1969, represents this significant change in style by ritualising musical interpretation, uniting music, gesture, movement and choreography.

Xenakis and Christou revolutionised performances of ancient Greek tragedy by transforming obstacles of the tragic chorus into creative advantages. The public and

the press were incredibly receptive to the music. The score for *The Suppliants* was derived from stage action, whereas the music for *The Persians* was an integral part of the staging. Both performances illustrated a remarkable amalgam of diverse musical languages, including Ancient Greek, traditional Greek and avant-garde of the sixties. Some *stasima* were also heavily influenced by religious rites from non-Western cultures, including African and South American. Jupiter's prayer in *The Suppliants*' chorus and the invocation of Darius's spirit in *The Persian* chorus are characteristic examples of chaotic massive interpretations which are rhythmically intensified with percussion. Christou and Xenakis innovated both the music and the staging of ancient Greek drama by merging various cultures and exploring the rich traditional Greek music

As 'total theatre', to quote Xenakis, Ancient Greek tragedy not only offered Greek composers a real challenge, but also provided a unique and prolific field for musical experimentation. The music of composers for Ancient Greek tragedy performances led to substantial developments in contemporary musical expression by creating an inventive dialogue between the musical past and present across different cultures.

END NOTES

1 IReMus (Sorbonne Université), CRIHAM (Université de Poitiers), RelMus/FG (Hellenic Musicological Society). Katy Romanou was my professor during my musicological studies at the University of Athens. I admired her and was inspired by her work on the history of Greek music. This article reflects part of my research in Greek music and ancient drama that she supervised for my PhD thesis (defended in 2009, at the Sorbonne Université). She also helped and supported me for years throughout my research and scientific activities as a musicologist. She was my mentor and a rare friend with whom I shared beautiful moments. I will always be grateful to her for being there for me.

2 Bakopoulou-Halls, A., 'Greece', *Living Greek Theatre. A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production*, ed. J. Michael Walton, translation Katerina Arvanity, Viki Manteli, *Greek Letters*, (Athens, 2007), pp. 381-428.

3 For example, the National Theatre of Greece, the Theatre of Art and the Theatre of Piraeus collaborated with renowned stage directors including Alexis Minotis, Karolos Koun, Takis Mouzenidis and Dimitris Rondiris.

4 The ancient theatres of Dodoni and Thasos hosted a great number of ancient Greek tragedy performances.

5 The inauguration of the Epidaurus Festival in 1954 included the performance of Euripides's *Hippolyte*, staged by Dimitris Rondiris. The music was written by Dimitris Mitropoulos.

6 Wiles, D., *Greek Theatre Performance: An Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 141-144.

7 For the use of masks in performances of Greek tragedy, see Wiles, David: *Mask and performance in Greek tragedy: from ancient festival to modern experimentation*, Cambridge University Press, (Cambridge, 2007).

8 Vasseur-Legangneux, P., *Les tragédies grecques sur la scène moderne, une utopie théâtrale*, Presse Universitaire Septentrion, (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2004), pp. 24-25.

9 Vasseur-Legangneux, *Les tragédies grecques sur la scène moderne, une utopie théâtrale*, Presse Universitaire Septentrion, (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2004), p. 25.

10 The incidental music in Ancient Greek tragedy performances in Greece between 1945 and 1975 constitutes one of the main subjects of the author's PhD thesis. Soulele, Andriana: *La musique de scène dans les représentations de tragédies grecques en France et en Grèce, de 1945 à 1975*, Thèse de Doctorat, Sorbonne Université, (2009).

11 Couroupos, G., (1942) studied piano at the Athens Conservatory and composition with Olivier Messiaen at the Paris Conservatoire (1968-1972). His music for French theatre performances during the seventies made him famous in France. After his return to Athens and in addition to his career as a composer, he took on the artistic direction for numerous Greek institutions. He mainly composed chamber and theatre music. Symeonidou, Aleka: *Dictionary of Greek Composers*, Philippos Nakas, (Athens, 1995), pp. 203-206. See also Romanou, Katy: *Greek Art Music in modern times*, Culture Editions, (Athens, 2006), pp. 261-263.

12 Minotis, A., (1900-1990), talented stage director and actor, devoted a great part of his career to Ancient Greek drama and its performance in modern times. He worked at the National Theatre of Greece for many years. Minotis, Alexis: *The Ancient Drama and Its Renaissance*, Astrolabe-Responsibility Editions, (Athens, 1987).

13 Antoniou, T., (1935-2018) was one of the most prolific Greek figures to have an international career as a composer, conductor and professor of composition. His work shows his vast experience in both avant-garde and traditional techniques. The sensation of dramatic structure in his music is due to his long career in theatre music. Romanou, (Athens, 2006), p. 261.

14 *Philoctetes* was represented at the National Theatre of Greece with staging by Alexis Minotis. Soulele, *op. cit.* (2009), pp. 291-301.

15 Hadjidakis, M., (1925-1994) was an autodidact composer with great talent and was never really interested in avant-garde music. Inspired by the Greek musical tradition, he wrote music and a great number of songs mostly for the theatre and the cinéma. *Evangelatos, Spyros: 'Manos Hadjidakis and Incidental Music', Open Letters to Manos Hadjidakis*, Bastas-Plessas Editions, (Athens, 1996), pp. 64-65.

16 *Medea* was staged by Alexis Minotis and performed at the National Theatre of Greece during the Epidaurus Festival in 1956.

17 Urban Greek music, *rebetiko*, appeared in the 1920s. For more information, see Liavas, Lambros: *The Greek Song from 1821 to 1950s*, Athens Commercial Bank of Greece, (Athens, 2009).

18 Sicilianos, G., (1920-2005) spent time with Tony Aubin, Boris Blacher and Ildebrando Pizzetti by studying music in Europe and the USA. His work, divided into three periods, is characterised by a tendency to experimentation in Greek traditional music and avant-garde methods. His activities in numerous Greek institutions played a significant role in the Greek music life. Romanou, *op. cit.* (2006), pp. 248-249. See also Tselika, Valentini (ed.): *Georges Sicilianos: the composer in the avant-garde contemporary music*, Benaki Museum (Athens, 2007).

19 Mouzenidis, T., (1909-1981) was a great stage director who studied law in Athens and stage setting, philosophy, art history and culture, psychology and aesthetics in Germany. He collaborated with many theatres, Greek and Europeans as well, but essentially with the National Theatre of Greece and the Epidaurus' Festival. For his personal point of view concerning stage direction, see Mouzenidis, Takis: *Theatrical space and staging: an essay*, G. Fexi (Athens, 1965).

20 One of the most talented stage directors who studied dramatic art at the Royal Academy of London and at the Wurtemburg State Theatre. He worked as an actor with many theatres in Greece and abroad as well. As a director, his productions reveal a rich repertory ranging from ancient Greek to contemporary European and American play writers.

21 Couroupos's music respected the staging concept of the director. He was a critic of the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990) which was ongoing at the time of *Trojan Women*'s production. Soulele, Andriana: 'Music for the Ancient Greek Drama. An Interview with the composer Georges Couroupos', Polyphonia 7 (2005), pp. 145-170.

22 Voutsinas, A., was a stage director with an international career and had already staged over 130 pieces of classical and contemporary repertory in collaboration with many theatres in Greece, England, Canada, USA and France. Most of his productions reveal a revolutionary concept and a critical mind towards the world's actuality.

23 Soulele, A., 'Music for the Ancient Greek Drama. An Interview with the composer Georges Couroupos', Polyphonia 7, (2005), pp. 150-170.

24 Most of Alexis Minotis' performances revealed a traditional or conservatory perception of Ancient Greek tragedy which required an analogous musical accompaniment.

25 Soulele, A., *La musique de scène dans les représentations de tragédies grecques en France et en Grèce, de 1945 à 1975*, Thèse de Doctorat, Sorbonne Université, (2009), pp. 323-327.

26 Known widely for his political activity during the Second World War and the Greek Junta (1967-1974), Mikis Theodorakis (1925) is a renowned European composer, primarily for his symphonic music characterised by atonalism and dodecaphonism. Since 1960, his work has been heavily inspired by *rebetiko* and Byzantine chant. Romanou, (2006), p. 252.

27 Sustained note interpreted vocally in Greek traditional and Byzantine chant.

28 Dragatakis, D., (1914-2001) studied the violin and composition with Leonidas Zoras and Manolis Kalomiris at the Athens National Conservatory. His music was clearly influenced by the traditional music of Epirus and reveals a unique association of occidental forms, original musical ensembles and electro-acoustics. Symeonidou, (1995), pp. 106-108. See also Kalopana, Magdalini: *Dimitris Dragatakis: work catalogue*, PhD Thesis, University of Athens, (2008).

29 For an analytical approach of these productions, see Soulele, A., op. cit., (2009), pp. 277-333.

30 Soulele, A., (2009), op. cit., pp. 303-310, 345-355.

31 Letter of Alexis Solomos addressed to Iannis Xenakis, 17.2.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

32 Letter of Alexis Solomos addressed to Iannis Xenakis, 6.3.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

33 Letter of Iannis Xenakis addressed to Alexis Solomos, 3.4.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

34 The instrumental part is written for 2 trumpets, 2 trombones, 2 violins, 2 cellos and 2 double-basses.

35 Solomos, A., *What for Dionysos. Notes for the Greek Tragedy*, Difros, (Athens, 1972), p. 73.

36 'Notes sur l'Orestie', Dossier OM 13/7-1, Archives of the Xenakis Family.

37 The *souravlt* is a type of small flute with a span of two octaves.

38 Some of the percussion instruments used in this performance included drums of different sizes, castanets, small bells, horse-bells, crotales, sistra, cymbals, etc. Letter of Iannis Xenakis addressed to the Greek musicologist Phivos Anoyanakis, 23.4.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

39 According to the composer, he gave castanets and bells to the forty women in the chorus to accompany their dance and songs. This was innovative. Bois, Mario., 'Xenakis. Musicien de l'avant-garde. L'entretien du 4 mars 1966', Bulletin d'information Boosey and Hawkes. Société des grandes éditions musicales 23 (septembre 1966).

40 Letter of Iannis Xenakis addressed to the Greek musicologist Phivos Anoyanakis, 23.4.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

41 For example, during Jupiter's invocation by *The Suppliants* chorus in the first *stasimon*. Xenakis described the frenetic ambiance of this *stasimon* in his sketches. Dossier OM 11/3, Archives of the Xenakis Family.

42 Letter of Iannis Xenakis addressed to Alexis Solomos, 10.4.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

43 Letter of Iannis Xenakis addressed to Alexis Solomos, 3.4.1964. Dossier OM 11/2, (Correspondence), Archives of the Xenakis Family.

44 Solomos, A., *What for Dionysos. Notes for the Greek Tragedy*, Difros, (Athens, 1972).

45 Bois, M., 'Xenakis. Musicien de l'avant-garde. L'entretien du 4 mars 1966', Bulletin d'information Boosey and Hawkes société des grandes éditions musicales 23 (septembre 1966).

46 *Oresteia* was performed in Michigan with staging by Alexis Solomos.

47 Da Silva Santana, H.M., *L'orchestration chez Iannis Xenakis : L'espace et le rythme, fonctions du timbre*, Thèse de Doctorat, Sorbonne Université, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, (2000), p. 105.

48 In both *Terretektorb* (1965-1966) and *Nomos Gamma* (1967-1968), Xenakis used many percussion instruments. To explore the spatial dimension of sound, musicians were placed among the public while the conductor was in the centre. Da Silva Santana, (2000), p. 105.

49 Christou, J., (1926-1970) avant-garde music revealed a profound reflection for music and the perception of the arts in general. He studied music, philosophy and psychology and was passionate about history and the music of ancient and modern cultures. Christou wrote first symphonic and vocal music and later applied technical patterns. The theatrical element played an important role in his later works. Romanou, (2006), pp. 245-247. See also Zouliatis, Kostis, 'Jani Christou and the Philosophy of Meta-Music', *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 74 (4), (2018), pp. 1493-1506. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26563366>.

50 Koun, K., (1908-1987) was an exceptional stage director, renowned in Europe for his vivid performances of Ancient Greek tragedy and comedy. He founded the Theatre of Art in 1942, presented numerous productions of avant-garde European writers such as Brecht and Pirandello and collaborated with many Greek composers. Mayer, Michael: *Karolos Koun and the Theatre of Art*, Greek translation by Erika Kairi, Greek Literary and Historical Archive, (Athens, 2004).

51 After this first performance in London, *The Persians* was produced at the Odeon of Herodes Atticus in Athens.

52 Stathoulopoulou, C., 'Chants in *Epidaurus*', *Epidaurus. The Ancient Theatre, The Performances*, ed. Kostas Georgousopoulos, Militos Editions (Athens, 2004), p. 220.

53 Stathoulopoulou, C., 'Chants in *Epidaurus*', *Epidaurus. The Ancient Theatre, the performances*, ed. Kostas Georgousopoulos, Militos Editions, (Athens, 2004).

54 The orchestra consisted of 3 horns, 2 trombones, tuba, piano, cello, double-bass, santour, xylophone, blocks, military drum, cymbals, tam-tam, buss drum, bongos, conga, toms, timpani and various bells.

55 The influence of Byzantine chant is clear at almost every *stasimon* and is incontestable at the second one: *The Persian* chorus evokes Darius's spirit with a short melody based on chromatic tetrachords.

56 Papaioannou, G., *Jani Christou and the Metaphysics of Music*, Greek Association of Contemporary Music, (Athens, 1970), p. 13.

57 Christou, J., 'Composing for the chorus', Theatre of Art 1942-1972, Hellenic Society of the Theatre, (Athens, 1972), p. 33.

58 Lucciano, A.-M., *Jani Christou: the works and temperament of a Greek composer*, translation by Catherine Dale, Harwood Academic Publishers (Amsterdam, 2000), p. 75.

59 Soulele, A., (2005), op. cit., pp. 145-170.

60 Lucciano, A.M., *Jani Christou: the works and temperament of a Greek composer*, translation by Catherine Dale, Harwood Academic Publishers, (Amsterdam, 2000), p. 81.

61 *Ibidem*.

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ANALYTICAL AND INTERPRETATIVE APPROACH: *Yorgo Sisilianos's works for Two Pianos*

*By: Apostolos PALIOS**

Yorgo Sisilianos (1920-2005) was born one century ago. He was one of the most prominent Greek composers and leading representatives of musical modernism for Greek contemporary music¹. His work has been studied by Greek musicologists during the past two decades, as part of a constant development and a general attempt at evaluating Greek compositions.

The present article is dedicated to Sisilianos's works for two pianos composed at different periods. Firstly, the suite *Tanagraea* op. 17 in nine movements. The initial version was written for two pianos and percussion and initially composed as a ballet based on the homonymous myth. Secondly, *Contrasts* op. 48, in three movements with an introduction taken from a Renaissance theme by Orlando di Lasso.

This article examines both pieces in their structure, composition techniques, programme content, pianistic texture, timbre and manner in which the composer wrote the dialogue for two pianos, stressing on points of convergence and divergence between the two compositions, in order to form a meaningful approach for aspiring performers.

One element of importance to consider in the approach to Sisilianos's work, is that he was a cosmopolite composer having been through four study cycles in four different countries. There was Greece, at the Hellenic Conservatory; the Athens Conservatory with Marios Varvoglou (1941-1943) and George Sklavos (1943-1949), eminent personalities of the Greek National Music School; Italy, at the National Academy of Santa Cecilia in Rome (1951-1953) with Ildebrando Pizzetti as professor of composition; in France at the Conservatoire National de Paris with Tony Aubin (1953-1954), then in the USA², as a scholar of the Fulbright

* Apostolos Palios was born in Greece (Karditsa), in 1979. Aldo Ciccolini has described him as one of the most amazing pianists of our days. He studied musicology at the University of Athens, where he received his Ph.D.

Foundation, at the Music School of the University of Harvard and in Walter Piston's composition class at the Tanglewood Summer School and Festival of Music in Massachusetts under the guidance of Boris Blacher, and ultimately at the Juilliard School of Music in New York in the classes of Vincent Persichetti and Peter Menin (1955-56)³. Due to the many acquaintances he made with teachers from various nations at the center of the *musique d'avant-garde*, Sisilianos enjoyed the opportunity of being the first privileged Greek composers involved with newest movements. The evolution of his musical identity is divided in three stages. During his first creative period until 1953 when he completed his studies in Italy and still under the influence of the National School, he adopted tonal and modal idioms, with Byzantine church-chant and Greek folk-songs as his primary creative material. The second period which lasted about twenty-five years⁴ was characterised by the quest for more modern aesthetics and experimentation with contemporary techniques such as the twelve-tone system, serialism, meta-serialism, electronic music, motivic ideas and transparency of sound materials. In the beginning of the 1980's, Sisilianos reverted to his last composition stages where he turned towards more melodic and intuitive sound idioms of higher intellectual aesthetics⁵. His final composition style could be described as post-diatonic⁶ with his attempts to give form and meaning to his music drawing inspiration from literary works.

Sisilianos composed sixty-three works but only four of them for the piano. They include *Eight children's miniatures* op. 23 (1963), *Études compositionnelles* op. 32, and *Eight Studies for piano* (1972-74). Both compositions were transcribed for orchestra by the composer in 1963 and 1975. The composer's was renowned for transcribing his piano works for the orchestra as well as for works for two pianos. This demonstrates on the one hand, an orchestral way of thinking which preexisted from the very beginning, and on the other, his choice of enabling more performances of his compositions in different versions. Even though in *Miniatures*, one of his most played and popular works, the programmatic element defining the anterior *Tanagraea*, becomes noticeable. This is despite the composition refraining from theoretical reflections and more advanced contemporary orientations in composition showing experimentation. The composer described the work as 'a series of little comedic and satiric pieces, written in order to amuse his son⁷ to whom the work was dedicated. On the other hand, *Études Compositionnelles* illustrates an

important part of Sisilianos's consideration and search for composition devices. These include one of his attempts from the beginning of the 1970's which included freer but well-planned compositions. Sisilianos's *Studies* are not just about instrumental techniques but also with essential parameters of music seen through atonalism to serialism and aleatorism⁸. In *Studies*, the impact of musical thinking from Debussy's *Études*, in respect of titles; the usage of whole tones scales and pentatonism became apparent as well as the influence of the German tradition with chords of major 7th, variations, and developments, narrative and dramatic characters connected to more conventional templates⁹ creating new depths¹⁰.

After his return and permanent residence in Greece in April 1956, Sisilianos was asked several collaboration proposals from some of the country's most prominent institutions which had already given him recognition as a promising young composer. The consequences have been the writing of four works for the stage during the next four years: *Tanagraea* op. 17 (1957), *Iphigenia in Tauris* op. 18 (1958), *Bacchae* op. 19 (1959) and *Hercules Furens* op. 20 (1960). These show Sisilianos's extroversion and have been positively received by audiences and critics, building communicative bridges being the composer's ultimate aim¹¹.

The aforementioned works are idiomatically milder in comparison to later works¹². They have a distinctly descriptive character as well as directly or indirectly referring to the Ancient Greek heritage, a shift from the 'Greekness' of Byzantine and folk traditions, to Classical Antiquity.

For aesthetic pursuits, which followed in his future compositions, he was inseparably connected with ancient drama.

In Sisilianos's works, 'Greekness' was used for a short period to oppose the then dominant Greek National School.

Secondly, in his enduring interest in Greek Ancient texts, he attempted at creating a field within which he could simultaneously draw upon Greek Antiquity and modernism¹³.

The composer's quest towards this direction, since the end of the fifties, integrated a modernistic universal approach to Greek Antiquity over many references to compositions emerging as an important point for suggesting 'Greekness¹⁴'.

The *Tanagraea Ballet Suite* opus 17 was originally composed for two pianos and percussion¹⁵ in October 1957¹⁶ as a commission from dancer Theodora (Dora) Vlastou. It was dedicated to the composer's wife. He transcribed the suite for orchestra during the same time and in 1969 undertook its transcription for two pianos. During an interview, Sisilianos broached the circumstances and creative incentives of the composition, drawing inspiration from ancient *Tanagraeae*¹⁷ clay statuettes pointing out his intention to bond music and dance through rhythm as a common unifying ingredient in order to bring out both arts in balance and intuition¹⁸. A few months after he finished the composition, on the twenty-first of April 1958, *Tanagraea* was performed in its original version for two pianos and percussion at the Kotopouli (Rex) Theatre¹⁹ and was performed again in May of the same year, receiving positive reviews. Sisilianos's music was qualified as a 'pleasant new composition²⁰' and 'highly interesting²¹'. In 2015, the present writer made the world's first recording of this work with pianist Stefanos Nasos and percussionist Marinos Tranoudakis for an anniversary recording, honouring the tenth year of the composer's death²².

The first orchestral performance of *Tanagraea* as a ballet took place almost a decade after the premiere of the version for two pianos and percussion. It was on February the seventeenth, 1967, at the *Olympia* Theatre. Antiochos Evangelatos²³ conducted the orchestra and ballet ensemble at the Greek National Opera. The orchestral version as a suite without stage action was given on February the fifth, 1962 at the *Kotopouli* Theatre²⁴ with the Athens State Orchestra conducted by Dimitris Chorafas.

The composer transcribed the ballet suite for orchestra with strings, piano, harp, celesta, guitar *ad libitum*²⁵, drums and percussion²⁶. The reason was that according to his own notes for the performance of 1967²⁷, he considered that the initial version was no more than just a simple orchestral sketch and decided to complete both 'orchestration-wise' as well as 'myth-wise'. The orchestration has the expressive primitive elements of Bela Bartok's chromatism which he gathered during his stay in Italy. However, practical reasons allowing for larger flexibility for potential performances either as a suite or as a ballet, without the limitations of a 'ponderous' orchestral ensemble, or an extended percussion installation, led to the third version for two pianos in February 1969²⁸. The first performance of the ultimate version was

given by Eva Anastasiadou-Lolou and Eva Anastasiadou-Stange on February the fourteenth²⁹ and on April the twenty-sixth, 1979, at the Parnassos concert hall in Athens. There were three recordings of the work, the first one in 1970 by Maria Cherogiorgou and Popi Eustratiadou. The success of the recording probably led Sisilianos to write a version for two pianos³⁰.

In *Tanagraea*, the composer explains the plot in his introduction³¹:

'Tanagra (plural) figurines are delicate small terracotta statuettes, mainly dating from the fourth century BC. They were found near the ancient town of Tanagra, in east Beotia, Greece. They mostly represent young women in costumes with fine cloth, holding fans or mirrors, and wearing broad-brimmed hats, or "skiadion", which acted also as umbrellas or parasols. Some of these women are seated, in a pensive or dreaming posture. Others are dancing or playing, alone or in company.'

The Tanagraea Suite op. 17, written in November 1957 originally for two Pianos and Percussion, and later for full orchestra, is inspired from these ancient terracotta pieces. The suite relates the tale of the young Tanagraea, whose beauty and grace which were eventually envied by the ugly witch, who metamorphosed into a big spider petrifying her by throwing over her shoulders its terrible web.

Y. S.

Athens, February 1969'

In the synoptic description of the plot for the ballet suite, the composer uses keywords capturing specific motives of the work: the carefree and naive *Tanagraea*; her beauty; the mirror; the fan; the 'skiadion' or sunshade; the pensive attitude; playing with the ball or the guitar; the dance to the sound of castanets; the mean witch transformed into a malevolent spider and its web, and the immobility of the little statuette distinct from its motion after resurrection. In other words, the composer, guided by the myth, carries out a programmatic musical review of cultural elements of Ancient Greece such as clothing; social events; ways of entertainment and music instruments. Next, I shall proceed with the overview of each movement, of the suite.

Tanagraea, Suite for two Pianos op. 17

1. *Prelude (The awakening of Tanagraea)*

Lento ma non tanto (bars 1-32). At the beginning of the suite, piano II begins with

the characteristic tritone interval as motif for the threatening spider, in particular in the deeper *tessitura* and creates an atmosphere of darkness, while the rhythmic values of eighth notes in the opening weave the acoustic impression of a web (fig.1). The motif is interrupted by a dissonance with piano I, in the bass as well, which reminds of the *Tanagraea* which is still buried. By contrast, the following chords in the high *tessitura* have a multiple programmatic function. On the one hand, they constitute the symbolic element of an uplift after the revealing of *Tanagraea*, on the other, they represent the sound of the showcase glass where the statuette stands, while they reveal, in parallel, a sense of stillness (fig. 2).



Fig. 1. bars 1-2, piano II



Fig. 2. bars 5, piano I

Piano I plays the melody with the left hand (bars 9-18), while the *appoggiaturas* with the right hand plays high-pitched in imitation of percussion instruments, underlining the effect of the glass showcase. Next, piano II introduces, as accompaniment, the *tremolo* technique, from bar 19, which will be played later in the suite, as well as *arpeggios* with semitonal intervals with both hands, on white and black keys. Piano I keeps exposing the melodic material from bar 20 which in the initial version of the work is played with bells, alternating perfect fourths and augmented fourths intervals. The explosive transition in bar 18 from lower to higher piano *tessitura*, signals *Tanagraea*'s exhumation from the ground into the showcase, while the concomitant augmentation of rhythmic fluidity marks her way to freedom.

Tempo di walzer (bars 33-48). There, Sisilianos uses the ternary metre of the *waltzer* for the dance of the free *Tanagraea*, first played by piano I (bars 33-39), with tritone in the accompanying octaves of the left hand, and subsequently by piano II (bars 42-48), changing roles, with both pianos, for the first time in the suite. The melody features the style of modality which defines the texture of Sisilianos's early compositions.

Lento (bars 49-57). The outbursts expressed with a *tremolo*, which refer to the witch-spider, appear at bar 50 of the sequence of major chords which use among

them pentatonic intervals, characteristic of the composition references to Ancient Greek music³².



Fig. 3. bar 50, piano 1

The musical material of the pentatonic scale and the tritone intervals continue in the following measures, with the addition of rapid accompanying figures 'quasi glissando' which expand in a perfect fourth interval and trills in piano II, which foreshadow their appearance in the fourth movement, while piano I performs a playful improvisation of *Tanagraea* (bars 55-56).

Adagio (bar 58-63): The playing of a short ice-cold, emotionless melody 'senza espressione' by piano I (bars 58-59, fig. 4), subsequently rhythmically augmented (in bars 60-62), suggests the invisible threat of the envious witch, distinct from the closing carefree improvisation of the *Tanagraea*, a kind of *cadenza*, which rises up with the upward course to a higher *tessitura*, the gradual interval diminution from the fifth to the second and its modal ending (fig. 5).



Fig. 4. bars 58-59, piano 1

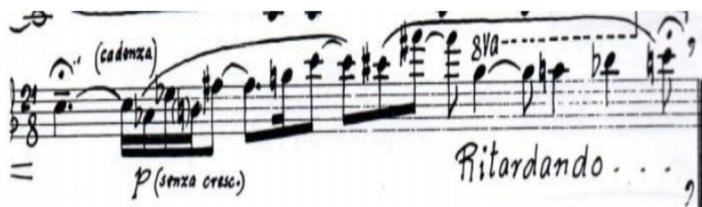


Fig. 5. bars 63, piano 1, right hand

2. *Talk with the mirror (Andante)*. At the beginning of the movement, Sismanos notes the following on the score: 'How beautiful thou art³³!' whispered by the image of an identical *Tanagraea* in the mirror. For the conversation with the mirror the composer takes a two-measure theme (example 6), based on an anhemitonic major pentatonic scale in the Ionian mode³⁴ which becomes subject to imitation with canons of diverse types between the two pianos: simple canon (bars 64-65 and bars 68-69), crab-canonical (bars 66-67 and bars 71-72), mirror canon (bars 70-71 and bars 72-73). The pentatonic melodic motif which ends every two measures with a chord with *fermata* as reference to *Tanagraea*'s opening motif in the first movement³⁵ will be played as variations in the next three movements of the suite.



Fig. 6. bars 64-65, piano 1 and II

3. The fan

Vivo scherzando (bars 76-86 and bars 88-92). The composer uses single and triple *appoggiaturas* with both pianos (fig. 7) for the musical depiction of the beating of the fan (bars 76-78) and introduces, in bar 79 with piano II (fig. 8), a characteristic rhythmic motif in 10/8 meter, containing semitone dissonances³⁶.



Fig. 7. bar 76, piano 1 and II



Fig. 8. bar 70, piano II

The exposed melody in piano I, from bar 81 in whole three times (including the repeat in bar 83), featuring a distinct articulation due to its content, comes from the intervallic pattern of the previous movement. Overall, the third movement sounds clearer, dominated by perfect fourth intervals and the unexpected use of the tonal subtonic at the end of the piece (bar 91).

Andante (bar 87). The interposed measure in a slower *tempo* refers to a memory as the mirror motive of the previous movement.

4. *The parasol/The pensive maiden... (Lento)*. The double title mentions the broad-brimmed hut with the pensive poise of the statuette, simultaneously. The wide usage of *brisé* major-, minor and diminished seventh chords in piano II (bars 93-94) pictures the width of the parasol while, in piano I, trills are played in semitonal intervals by piano II, in whirls, expressing the passing thoughts in *Tanagraea's* contemplation. Both pianos quote simultaneously, once again, the thematic motif of the second movement, marked with perfect fourths intervals (fig. 9).

The notes of the motif which are constantly exposed in trills, are varied in their expositions, while the accompanying pattern of *brisé* chords, passing from bar 99 to the left hand of piano I, gives space to piano II to conduct imitative canons in

analogy to those of the second movement, exposing the tones in broken octaves of triplets. The applications of imitative canons and their programmatic reflection are interrupted throughout the piece (bar 95, bar 98, bars 106-107) with a distinctive rhythmic motif of a falling tritone rising at a higher *tessitura*³⁷ which is rhythmically varied in each exposition (fig. 10).

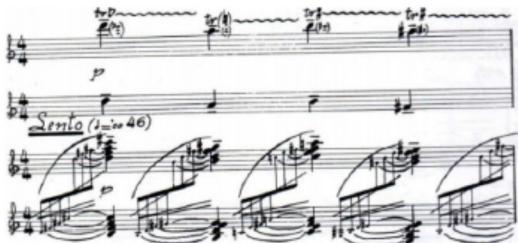


Fig. 9. bar 79, piano I and II



Fig. 10. bar 75, piano I

5. *Promenade/ The amusements (Allegro molto e vivace)*. In the fifth piece of the suite, a double programmatic title is chosen as well. *Tanagraea*'s pace is represented by an accompanying motif of semitones in piano II, correspondingly with the third movement.



Fig. 11. bars 109-110, piano II

In piano I, the pentatonic melody, which stems from the 'mirror' motive, features particular *staccato* articulations as an expression of the joyful and carefree game character. The rhythmic disintegration of the accompanying motif is remarkable at the end of the

piece, as a capture for the end of the action of the walk and of the game.

6. *The game of the balls (Allegretto con grazia)*. The musical form of the movement is a traditional *Scherzo-Trio-Scherzo*. For *The game of the balls*, the composer uses, according to his own terms, a graspable melodic line³⁸ which reminds Prokofiev. The first phrase of the melody is exposed in the opening nine measures of piano I. The programmatic bouncing of the ball is expressed with *staccato* and ligature articulations; altered rising and falling intervals; *brisé* chords and *appoggiaturas*.



Fig. 12. bars 140-143, piano I

During the second melodic phrase, piano II is supported by a counterpoint. The two pianos move together at times, in parallel motion in intervals of fourths in bar 155, and in contrary motion in bar 161, and at other times, they carry out a dialog motif in responses, bars 153-154 and bars 169-170. Then a *Trio*, expressed by the powerful presence of tri-semitonal intervals which ends with a dominant tone to turn back to the tonic in the repeat of the *Scherzo* (A minor).

7. The harp³⁹ (Lento rubato). The *brisé* effect, which had been used in previous movements now reaches its most extensive effect to describe the timbre of a harp while the synchronic playing of both pianos in *unisono* demand excellent precision from the players. The clearly quoted major chords shape the interval of the tritone, essential core of the suite (fig. 13). The consonances of the harp are interrupted by two melodic quotations in piano I (bar 174 and bar 177), a kind of *recitativo* and free improvisation which reminds of the guitar, emphasised by a motif of rhythmic acceleration at the beginning of the first phrase which also imitates the guitar (fig. 14).

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

In analogy to the previous movement, the tonal environment of the piece becomes evident, as it ends with the dominant of C.

8. *Dance (Allegretto rustico alla greca)*. Sisilianos's reference to Ancient Greek instruments continues with the addition of crotals⁴⁰ to the harp and to the guitar along with the castanets. They present, in the initial version⁴¹ of the work as played by piano II, fig. 15, a characteristic Greek dance rhythm, the septuple 7/8 meter which is subdivided into 3+2+2 beats, on which the 'Syrtos-Kalamatianos' dance⁴² is based. It is one of the most popular Greek folk-dances, selected by the composer to highlight the dominating element of 'Greekness' in the composition.



Fig. 15. bars 179-182, piano II



Fig. 16. bars 192-195, piano I, left hand

The introduction of nine-measures in the high *tessitura* with piano I includes reference to the first movement of the suite. It is followed by an accompanying rhythmical dance pattern with piano II and the exposition of a melody in folk style in piano I in bars 188-196 in B minor, in bars 201-210 in its modal dominant, including a rising modal scale with the left hand (fig. 16).

From bar 191, piano II presents, apart from the accompanying pattern contrapuntal melodic fragments as well, while, in the last measures (bars 211- 213), the two pianos carry out an imitative dialog on the counterpoint motif. It is worth mentioning the application of effects (*appoggiatura* in bar 192, the accented motif of thirty-second notes in bar 214-215) which sound like folk instruments, such as the traditional violin which often accompanies these dances.

9. *Finale (The death of Tanagraea)*. In the final movement, a collage made with each motif is used. This functions as conclusion and memory to *Tanagraea*'s course highlighting the thematic cohesion of the composition.

In the initial subsections of the movement, a motivic material is employed from the fifth movement (*Allegro molto e vivace* [bars 215-224, accompanying motif]), from the second movement (*Andante* [bars 225-226, mirror theme]), from the third movement (*Vivo scherzando* [bars 227-228, rhythmic accompanying motif]), from

the fourth movement (*Lento* [mm. 229-231, the two different thematic motives]), while a fragment of the ending improvisation from first movement appears in bar 232.

Grave molto pesante (bars 233-235). The thematic review is followed by the programme description of *Tanagraea*'s death. The *tremolo* in piano II, derived from the first movement and combined with harsh chord dissonances in extreme dynamics⁴³, including a tritonic interval with the left hand of piano I (fig. 17), prepares suggestively the malicious thematic quotation of the spider.



Fig. 17, mm. 233, piano I and II

p to ff) as well as mainly rhythmical through the augmentation of values⁴⁴.

Poco meno Lento (bars 236-238). In bar 236, very loud sounds, such as in bar 233, simultaneously played with both pianos, represent the petrified *Tanagraea*. Towards the end, the work features motivic circularity, exhibiting the opening of the first movement accompanying the motif in piano I which captures *Tanagraea* into the witch-spider's web, while the tritone intervals is the 'evil motive' and keeps on with the other piano.

Grave (bars 239-245). The tritonic piano intervals in piano II have shorter tones (staccato of quarter notes) and decompose with inclusion of rests, bringing back the initial sense of stillness, while, with piano I, the last sounding chord in high *tessitura* and the nostalgic, melancholic melodic fragment from the starting section of the first movement describes the return of a petrified *Tanagraea* into the showcase and signals the end of the suite at the exact point where it started.

Concisely, as a characteristic element of the ballet suite, apart from the clear programmatic content and the references to Ancient Greek traditions, the following can be noted: motivic circular-cohesion, exposition of melodic material mainly by

Sisilianos, currently, chooses as inspired with almost a sarcastic attitude the transformation of the light improvisation motive of the first movement, last into a malevolent and threatening musical incarnation of evil.

The transformation is made in context of dynamic marking (from

piano I, orchestral thinking of the composer, since the orchestrated version was conceived by Sisilianos from the very beginning; music modality with sporadic usage of tonal elements, usage of the pentatonic scale for the main theme of the composition; a basic core of intervals (with dominance of tritones) throughout the composition functioning as unifying factor traced to the general impact of Bartok's variation and monothematic techniques⁴⁵; application of canon and imitation devices in both pianos; particular rhythmical motifs which serve the composer's priority to the parameter of rhythm, and colourful timbre which exhausts the dynamic limits of the two instruments. In fact, the last two musical ingredients, timbre and rhythm, according to composer's statement, have been a considerable concern for him⁴⁶ during the writing of the work.

The second piece which Sisilianos wrote for two pianos marks his latest creative period. It is characterised, on the one hand, by a more melodic and lyrical style in relation to his middle period. On the other, by his tendency 'to converse with Western art music conventions⁴⁷' through the usage of classical forms, and borrowing music materials inspired from works by great masters⁴⁸. It functions as a three-movement composition, *Antithesis (Contrasts)* op. 48 for two pianos, completed in 1984⁴⁹ which is based on an authentic chromatic theme from the Motet *Cycle Prophetiae Sibyllarum* by Orlando di Lasso⁵⁰, the prolific sixteenth-century Flemish composer of sacred and secular music. *Prophetiae Sibyllarum* express a particular tendency which has been developed during the second half of sixteenth century and is defined by its chromatism leading to the elimination of any sense of a tonal center⁵¹. Using di Lasso's work as a springboard, Sisilianos built a dialog between the advanced harmonic language of the Renaissance and the atonal contemporary idiom, between a Renaissance theme and an application of a twelve-tone sequence. These two thematic-motivic elements comprise a basic connecting factor among the three movements of the composition. Whereas in *Tanagraea* the reference to the past has been mythological, in *Contrasts* the past is approached under the fusion and interaction of musical materials from the tradition and the present, while the expressive buildup of the work, as musicologist Kostas Chardas highlights, 'is weaved on the collision between the old and the new music style⁵²'.

The composition is dedicated to the piano duo Ganev⁵³, however, it was premiered on May the twenty-third, 2002, by Ermis Theodorakis and Emmanouil

Perysinakis at the concert hall Parnassos in Athens⁵⁴, while the discography includes three recordings with the most recent one by the present writer, and Stefanos Nasos⁵⁵. It is worth noting that in his last piano work, the composer kept his habit of orchestrating his piano works. This time he arranged *Contrasts* one year later, in 1985, for strings, drums and two pianos. This version was first performed at the Pallas Theatre on November the twenty-seventh, 1990, by the Orchestra of Colours, conductor Manos Hatzidakis and piano soloists Elizabeth Kounalaki and Meropi Kollarou⁵⁶.

*Contrastes pour deux Pianos sur un thème chromatique de Roland de Lassus op. 48*⁵⁷



Fig. 18. di Lasso's motet, bars 1-4⁵⁸

I. *Alternations (Moderato)*: as the title reveals, Sisilianos deals in the first movement of the composition with constant alternation between the Renaissance theme and the prevailing in twentieth century twelve-tone composition technique. The movement begins with the quotation of di Lasso's original motet which is given by piano II (bars 1-25, see fig. 19 for the first 4 measures of the theme), while, from bar 10, piano I starts interfering musically, with the twelve-tone sequence material (bars 10-13, fig. 20) which will be used as main theme in the fugue in the third movement.

Fig. 19. bars 1-4, piano II



Fig. 20. bars 10-13, piano I



The theme contains the tonalities of C-; E-; B-flat-; G-; D major, and G minor. It includes consonances of octaves and thirds, chords, longer and shorter rhythmic values and syncopations, *ingredients* that will be later heard. From bar 28, piano II carries out fragmentary references to the theme and its scales, while, from bar 31, the series is exposed in sixteenth notes, first by piano I and subsequently by piano II (bar 33). In bar 35, the composer, as with *Tanagraea*, introduces *tremolo* in piano I and uses dialogue processes between the two pianos in bars 33-34 and 40-42. In bars 48-50, tritone intervals are present with both pianos, intervals which are indicated on the score by the composer and by dominated *Tanagraea*. The gradual volume of writing which helps building musical climaxes is interesting as the initial monophony in piano I is converted from bar 40 in double sounds, and from bar 53 to chords which next move on to piano II. The musical escalations of 'hysteric' chord sequences alternate from bar 56 with the lyrical theme, leading in bar 71 to the repeat of the movement where the roles of the two pianos are inverted as piano I exposes the theme and piano II the series. Dialogues between the two pianos take place in bars 82-92 in series of octaves and sixteenth notes as well as in bars 93-104 in triplet eighth notes (fig. 21) - another common rhythmic-motivic element with the other work for two pianos - up to the last dynamic climax of the movement in bar 104 which is followed by a general pause in bar 105.



Fig. 21. bars 97-98, piano I and II

The last fragmentary references, from bar 106, to the theme of the motet with piano II and to the serial sequence in piano I ends with a falling course of the triplet motif and completes the first movement of *Contrasts* that alternates with the confrontation of the dialogue between the two worlds of di Lasso's Renaissance modal chromatic harmony and the contemporary atonal music.

II. *Dialogue (Adagio)*. In the second movement, the presence of the motet becomes less noticeable, appearing clearly only in the last section, while the intense contrast of the smooth opening movement and a dialog, emerges in conciliation. At first, the series is given by piano I, while references to the Renaissance theme are less tight in piano II. Sismanos's practice is remarkable as it indicates difficult rhythmic analogies between the two pianos (bars 20-23):



Fig. 22. bar 23, pianos I and II

The intense dialogues, from bar 21, with the triplet motif in broken octaves which derives from the first movement, lead to a climax in the *Appassionato* section (bar 29-40). After the return of the former tempo (*Tempo Primo*), from bar 41, the triplet motif is replaced by sextuplets sixteenth notes in broken octaves and fragmentary inclusions of semitones in piano I, an *ostinato*.



Fig. 23. bar 45, piano I

The thematic material of the motet is introduced more distinctively in bar 47 up to the end of the movement. The closing of the movement where only piano II plays is remarkable, receiving the *ostinato* motif of sextuplet sixteenth notes which gradually decomposes rhythmically with first

sixteenth, then eighth and finally quarter notes.

III. *Finale/Fuga (Allegro energico ma non troppo)*. In the third movement of the work, the dialogue between present and past includes additionally, a compositional form parameter, as Sisilianos chooses a four-voice fugue as a direct reference to the past, while the material of the motet appears twice in the last section of the movement, shortly before the *stretto* and at the end of *coda*. The theme consists in the first ten notes of a twelve-tone sequence and apart from its initial form is exposed in inversion and retrograde as well as a rhythmic variant. The composer indicates on the score, throughout the movement, the theme and counter-theme motives which are subject to imitation. In bars 1-2, piano I exposes the theme of the ten-tone sequence and in bars 3-4 the counter-theme, also in sequence, while the left hand presents the tonal answer to the theme.



Fig. 24. bars 1-4 piano I

In bars 1-8, the exposition of the theme with all the four voices which are divided between the two pianos, is completed. From bar 9 and in all of the first episode, every technical process; inversion; retrograde; retrograde-inversion, successively, is carried out with the theme and the counter-theme. As he did previously, Sisilianos climaxes his music by 'augmenting' the two pianos: the monophonic quotations evolve (from bar 10) to octaves in parallel and converse directions and afterwards to triads (from bar 16). The escalation in bar 34 is succeeded from the next measure by the second exposition of the ten-tone theme in interval inversion and by a new counter-theme of sixteenth notes. The motivic cohesion with the previous movements fades from bar 39 with the reappearance of the *ostinato* motif of broken octaves, combined with the addition of a semitone, at this point in sixteenth notes, which builds up the basic material for the second episode.

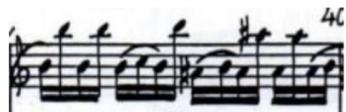


Fig. 25. bar 39, piano I

The second dramatic climax of the fugue leads in bar 56 to the partial reinstatement of the Renaissance theme with piano II, while piano I processes the second counter-theme. From the reintroduction of di Lasso's

theme till the end of the movement, the dynamics and dramatic effects of the composition rise gradually. The *stretto* of the fugue takes place from bar 80 and the coda from bar 96 where the twelve-tone theme is exposed for the last time, sequentially by the two pianos in rhythmic augmentation, while one of the pianos performs, correspondingly, furious virtuoso contrapuntal scales in contrary motions with both hands.



Fig. 26. bars 96-97, pianos I and II

The *ostinato* motive is reintroduced by piano II (bar 105- to end) as an accompanying complement of the last reference to the initial theme of the composition which concludes the fugue. The fragmentary quotation of the main theme in two points of the final pages of the composition functions as a reminder of the creative starting point, similar to the motivic circularity of *Tanagraea*, but also as nostalgia and reflection of the musical past. The sound becomes clearer and transparent, as an 'instantaneous victory' and the prevailing of the 'old' over the 'contemporary'. The ending, though, in tritonic relationship (F \sharp major) besides the primary tonality of the theme of the motet (C major), is a characteristic interval which has been also extensively used in *Tanagraea*, underlines the splice between traditional and modern harmony.



Fig. 27. bars 112-113, pianos I and II

In any case, the direct and indirect dialogues of the two acoustic worlds in *Contrasts* - according to Chardas's insightful and colourful words captures 'with concrete expressiveness the joy of conquest that comprises the issue of modernistic aesthetics⁵⁹'. It should be mentioned that in general, in his second work for two pianos, Sisilianos treats absolutely equally and balanced the role of the two instruments concerning melodic-thematic quotations, contrapuntal passages and accompanying support in comparison to *Tanagraea* where piano I had predominance and primacy, mainly of melodic phrasing. From the aspect of piano writing, the composer shows, as he does besides in his solo piano compositions, that he is completely familiar with the technical capacity of the instrument and specificity, demonstrating particular interest in revealing the rich sound-colour of their combination and in building contrasting dynamics-wise sound levels as well as dramatic peaks and de-escalations.

As an epilogue, I would like this study to be one further step for the recognition of a composer who has contributed, through the density of his compositions, the pithiness of his personal expression and the wide affective range of his music, to the redefinition of contemporary Neo-Hellenic cultural identity, always from an angle of perception of anthropocentric art and dimension. Allow me to assume, driven by the famous quotation of respected musicologist, critic, and broadcast producer Hans Keller who included, in 1954, Greek Nikos Skalkotas next to Schönberg, Stravinsky and Shostakovich as one of the great 'Ss' of twentieth century prominent composers⁶⁰ who, would I assume, possibly, after the studying and evaluating process for Yorgo Sisilianos's work is completed, might also be renowned in the future among the great compositional 'Ss' of the last century.

END NOTES

1 In the context of his leading role in avant-garde compositions in Greece, Sisilianos has been, among other positions held during his lifetime, Vice-president of the Greek Department of the International Contemporary Music Society and the Greek Contemporary Music Association (1964-1968 and 1965-1969), and President of Greek Union of Composers (1981-1989).

2 During his stay in the USA, Sisilianos's future course had been influenced by composer and conductor Dimitris Mitropoulos who later (March, 1958) first performed Sisilianos's First Symphony opus 14 (1956) with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.

3 [Symeonidou, 1995, p. 376]. See bibliography.

4 The composer's first approach to the twelve-tone method is with his Concerto for Orchestra op. 12 (1954).

5 The work which defined the crossroads to his final compositional turn has been in 1980 *Mellichomidi* op. 44 for soprano and ensemble, on verses by Archaic Greek poet Sappho.

6 [Mavroudis, 2020, p. 2]. See bibliography.

7 According to the composer's speech about his composition [Sisilianos, 1967-1]. See bibliography.

8 [Sisilianos, 1973] for the premiere of the first *five Studies*.

9 [Christopoulou, 2009, p. 209]. See bibliography.

10 [Anoyanakis, 1973]. See bibliography.

11 Sisilianos places the human being at the epicentre of his music, facing artistic production as a means for expression and communication; he considers that it is natural for people to search the 'new', insofar as it conforms with the different needs of each era. He notes his relevant aspects in a typewritten text; [Sisilianos, 1991].

12 It does not mean necessarily that the composer abstains from applying the technical devices that he possessed during his former years. However, these works do not belong to the core of his theoretical concerns, at least in terms of technical issues which would be expressed with his *Third String Quartet* opus 15 (1961).

13 In the context of his aesthetic and ideological approach to Greek antiquity, his aim to build a constant dialogue with Western Art Music tradition and his quest, at the same time, for a national identity, always seen within the international musical community, he published theoretical texts, such as [Sisilianos, 1984, v. 4, p. 91] and [Sisilianos, 1972, v. 3, p. 210-213].

14 [Chardas, 2016]. See bibliography.

15 The percussion instruments used include gong, bass drum, suspended cymbal, glockenspiel, cymbals, triangle, snare drum, xylophone, woodblock and castanets.

16 In the autograph of the manuscript [Sisilianos, 1957-10], October the sixteenth, 1957 is written as the date for the completion of the work.

17 The tanagré figurines are famous ancient Greek terracottas of sizes ranging between fifteen and thirty five centimetres. They represent women, standing or seated, and come from Tanagra in ancient Boeotia. The tanagré statuettes were very popular among Greeks of the fourth and third centuries BC. They sold well throughout Greece. They mostly depict beautiful and elegant women including oblations to the Goddess of beauty Aphrodite, while initially have been used as grave goods for young women's graves as well as charms or talismans; see [Danz, 1962].

18 Sisilianos mentions, respecting: "...Dance has been always something that touched me particularly. The bond between these two arts with at least one basic, common attribute - i.e. the rhythm - made me believe that at these hard-approachable fields where music lies nowadays, its marriage with the dance would make it more intuitive, more specific, more well-known. It would bring it then closer to a broader audience without losing anything, the music from its form fluidity, the dance from its elastic self-existence. My experience, though, of music of such kind has been more theoretical than practical! "*Tanagraea*" has been the first trial that reached a certain end. And because the enthusiasm of the new initiated is nothing more than the absolute respect of their initiation's object, in "*Tanagraea*" I respected the dance more than music itself" [Sisilianos, 1962].

19 Theodora Vlastou's dance recital was accompanied by recorded music (played by pianists Yannis Papadopoulos and Chara Tombra, and percussionist Apostolos Argyropoulos) which also included, besides *Tanagraea*, choreographed works by Bach, Bartok, Debussy, Rachmaninoff, Strauss, Prokofiev, and Rossini, with costumes by Yannis Tsarouchis; see [Anon., 1958-1964].

20 [Anon., 1958-4]. See bibliography.

21 [Anon., 1958-5]. See bibliography.

22 [Sisilianos, 2016]. See bibliography.

23 According to the concert programme notes [Sisilianos, 1967-2]. See bibliography.

24 According to the concert programme notes [Sisilianos, 1962]. See bibliography.

25 In the autograph [Sisilianos, 1957-10/11, p. 25], the composer, apart from the score of the guitar indicates also bassoons, mentioning that the two bassoons could replace the guitar in case it was not available.

26 The composer chooses the same percussion instruments like those from the organology of first version for two pianos and percussion. Moreover, the title of each movement is noted by the composer on the manuscript in French,

English and Greek [Sisilianos, 1957-10/11].

27 [Sisilianos, 1967-2]. See bibliography.

28 As emerges from the composer's introductory note in the autograph manuscript [Sisilianos, 1969]. See bibliography.

29 [Anoyanakis, 1979]. See bibliography.

30 See [Sisilianos, 1971/ 1995/ 2007] respectively.

31 [Sisilianos, 1969]. See bibliography.

32 The music system of Ancient Greece was pentatonic initially before its gradual conversion to heptatonism. The most faithful references, nowadays, survive into the local music idiom of the region of Epirus in the folk tradition.

33 Archaic form for 'you are'.

34 [Ricker, 1976, p. 2-3]. See bibliography.

35 In the first version of the suite, the chord is played by the triangle.

36 Percussion presents the rhythmic motif in the initial version.

37 In the first version of the work, the motif is also played by the xylophone.

38 [Sisilianos, 1967-2]. See bibliography.

39 In the initial version of the work, including percussion, Sisilianos titles the movement, 'The guitar'.

40 In classical antiquity, a crotal (Ancient Greek *krotalon*) was a kind of clapper or castanet used in religious dances by groups in ancient Greece and elsewhere, including by the Korybants, armed and crested dancers who worshipped the Phrygian goddess Cybele with drumming and dancing; see [Riginos, 2015, p. 46-47].

41 Specifically, in the first version, the triangle is used for longer values and the castanets for the eight notes.

42 In its basic form, syrtos dance features twelve steps, whose first seven steps move forward and the other five in place. The origin of the dance is age-old, while its name originates from Greek Peloponnesian town Kalamata.

43 In the percussion version, the gong is used to emphasise the macabre mood in the dramatic peak of the ballet.

44 The transmuted melody is played by piano I, unlike with the initial version where it is piano II.

45 Sisilianos received the greatest influences from Bartok in his Concerto for Orchestra, opus 12 (1954); see [Christopoulou, 2009, p. 59]. See bibliography.

46 [Sisilianos, 1967-2]. See bibliography.

47 [Christopoulou, (2009), p. 252]. See bibliography.

48 Ostensibly, I name Beethoven (*The lady in the moonlight*, opus 41 and opus 43) and J.S. Bach (*Sonata for violin and piano*, opus 45).

49 According to the autograph; [Sisilianos, 1983/1984]. See bibliography.

50 Even in Y.S.A., a copy of di Lasso's work was found inside the file where *Contrasts* is contained, attended by Sisilianos's notes [di Lasso, 1937] as well as the inscription: 'With the request to accept it as a minimal thanksgiving for so kindly acceding to trust your work to us'.

51 [Lowinsky, 1990, p. 38-41]. See bibliography.

52 [Chardas, 2016]. See bibliography.

53 [Orchestra of Colours, 1990]. See bibliography.

54 In autograph [Sisilianos, 1983/1984], the composer notes the title only in French language.

55 [di Lasso, 1990, p. XXVII, 3-4]. See bibliography.

56 [Chardas, 2016]. See bibliography.

67 [Keller, 1954, v. 52, p. 1041-42]. See bibliography.

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MY 20 YEARS LIFE TRIP:
Between Katy Romanou and Rena Kyriakou

*By: Christina Giannelou**

In 1999, I studied at the Department of Music Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. In this campus I discovered a genuine concept of musicology thanks to renowned professors such as Katy Romanou, Nikos Maliaras, Apostolos Kostios, Markos Tsetsos, Olympia Fragkou-Psychopaidi, Georgios Zervos, Georgios Fitsioris, Stelios Psaroudakis and Achilleas Chaldaikis. They were a powerful group who shaped the musicological thought in Greece and further.

In October of the same year, my deep interest and curiosity for the intricacies of opera led me to one of Katy Romanou's courses: 'The History of Opera'.

Romanou had a great love and enormous knowledge on the subject which she shared with her students. She and her sister, the famous painter Mika Romanou, were members of Peiraieus Theatre of Dimitri Rontiris, the famous Greek theatrical director, under whose auspices, both of them, travelled through Europe, South and North America and Asia, where they delivered theatrical performances of ancient tragedies.

In this theatrical organisation, Romanou taught part of the chorus as a music teacher and sang in the choir where she was also a percussionist. Romanou had a great experience of stage music as a listener as she was also a music critic at the daily Athenian newspaper *I Kathimerini*.

For many decades, she attended operas all over the world. On some occasions I accompanied her for performances of Massenet's *Mannion*, Berg's *Lulu*, which was one of her favourites, and Verdi's *Sicilian Vespers*. At the end of each representations we discussed all the aspects of that opera and what made it so great: structure, costumes, qualities of the singers, the evolutionary developments and each year we

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discovered new interpretations which revealed the economic prosperity of Greece during the 1999-2009s.

Romanou assimilated the revolution in a wonderful way. She articulated her positions with remarkable humour while remaining modest at all times.

She was an outstanding writer with an unrivalled knowledge which revealed her total dedication to music research in many musicological fields. She wrote with so much ease and jumped from different musicological subjects: from Byzantine¹ to Greek, to Russian musicology, to Opera, to Serbian music, to gender studies, to Greek 20th century piano music. Her deep knowledge and her critical ear always saw different perspectives of the various aspects of musicology. She had a vision for music and life in general which enlightened in every possible way. She did not care about being part of any system. She remained faithful to her own vision and believed that she could superimpose Eastern with Western Music proving that both came from the same common ground.

In her course about the history of opera, Romanou delivered this glorious world and presented all the details which determined the various periods of the opera: the different views, the avant-garde costumes, the interpretive behaviour of the singers, the stern look of producers. With a single and only word she could express all this world to her students. Her lectures were strict and comprehensive. Walking in this path, she gave generously to her students the opportunity to breathe deeply into the different periods of the opera.

The examination ending Romanou's course included two parts. The written and the oral. The philosophy of Katy Romanou about the written exam was meant to increase and develop one's critical abilities. It was not just pointless memorisation of musicological texts. She was a historian and had a full understanding of the political scene for each period. She gave us her knowledge, and taught us to trust our own ideas. In the second part, the oral exam, we had to listen to two or three audio-tapes with musical examples and answer questions about them.

The second course I followed under Romanou was about stage music. It had a totally different approach to that of the history of the opera. It was oriented towards the changes in music styles within the opera.

One of the examination requirements was to recognise the period of an opera from instrument combinations or the choice in the succession of the different parts

of the work. She managed, with every pedagogical, mean to exercise our musical ear, to sharpen our musicological views without any pressure. She had a natural gift for teaching, she infused music into the flow of human life and was a humanist of music who incorporated sociological and aesthetic elements into her courses.

During breaks she rarely disappeared into her office. She spent breaks with her students. With great kindness she shared her advice for music and for life.

The next course I took with her was modern Greek Art Music. She was an expert in this field. Her musicological opinions were sought after worldwide. It was her main course, which was mandatory, for all the students at the Athens music department. She knew so many facts about musicians, composers, musical events. In the decades of the 60's to the 90's, Romanou was so active and witnessed much changes in Greece, in Europe, Asia, U.S.A., and all over the world.

She had friends, colleagues, students from all parts of the world. She was always *au fait* with technology and had enormous feedbacks for everything. She gave us the opportunity of sharing our progress with her.

She shared all she felt as a music critic such as the historical turning points of music history which determined the course of modern Greek Art History.

With her knowledge she could cover a wide field from Byzantine musicology to contemporary music and from Greek to Western music. She had a deep admiration for experimental music and was attracted to innovation.

With all these elements, her judgement was always right. She never lied and was fair and all requested her opinion.

Romanou knew every musician, whether colleague or student. She had a very clear view of every situation. She was a really treasure, a little daily miracle to whom you could ask everything about music issues or musicological facts and could take a sincere answer, always scientifically substantiated.

The next course I followed determined my general musicological interests. It was Greek music for piano. This period coincided with my general interest in Greek music.

Already, I was part of a group which practiced Greek piano music under the supervision of the famous pianist Effie Agrafioti. As a member of this group I played pieces from Nikos Skalkotas, Dimitri Mitropoulos, Manos Hadjidakis, Aristotle Kountourof, Mihalis Vourtsis, Maria Kalogridou, Yiolanda Severi, Sossana Kladou-

Neratzi, Antigoni Papamikropoulou, Rena Kyriakou, Yiorgos Sicilianos, Loris Margaritis, Konstantinos Kydoniatis, Manolis Kalomoiris, Iason Antoniadis, Panayiotis Theodossiou, etc.

Rena Kyriakou's lack of analysis and discography about the main recitals and diplomas of piano in Greece led me to write an article to highlight this issue: why Greek works are not played in recitals?

It was a problem which persisted and was a topic of discussions at all conferences I attended from 1999 until now. Today, it is much better. Graduates of departments of music studies, all over the country, engage in extensive researches about Greek composers. The graduates of the departments of music studies keep alive the name of composers who constitute our cultural heritage.

Greek music progressively attracted an audience which listened, applauded and promoted Greek Music. An example is the Ensemble of Modern Greek Art Music which I founded at the Music School of Karditsa where there are research projects about Greek composers. High-school, students having no instruments to practice were given this opportunity and played modern Greek music in recitals around Greece and Europe. A good example is the Athens Philharmonia Orchestra conducted by Professor Nikolaos Maliaras, which gave many first interpretations of Greek works.

Meanwhile, Katy Romanou gave me some of Rena Kyriakous's pieces that her son, the lawyer Theodore Choidas, had given her². I found these works really important especially when I played *Les cloches*. I felt that something really special came from this woman composer whose name I had never heard before.

I enquired about her and although the web was not readily available, I found an important discography.

In 1939, the American company Vox wanted to record marginal composers with best performers from all over the world. So, Vox and its president, George Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, discovered, in Rena Kyriakou, aside her music, the right pianist to record the integral works of Isaac Albéniz, Felix Mendelssohn, Jan Dusík, Enrique Granados, Emmanuel Chabrier, Camille Saint-Säens and a selected discography of Antonio Soler, Frédéric Chopin, John Field and Gabriel Pierné.

The huge musical personality of Rena Kyriakou offered a wide range of research both in terms of composition but also in terms of interpretation. The discovery of

her compositions and the thorough analysis of her thematic ideas guided me towards miraculous experiences. Everywhere in her compositions one could recognise the miracle, the prodigy. She had a personal musical identity without repeating anything similar in terms of musical themes.

No woman before, in Greece, but Rena Kyriakou, could write with such a strong structure and melodic originality. Kyriakou had an amazing mind from which sprouted original compositions without having previous academic knowledge.

Eirini-Foteini Kyriakou was born at Heraklion in Crete, on the 25th of February 1917. She was a child prodigy, an internationally acclaimed pianist, composer and pedagogue. She was the daughter of the famous Greek architect Dimitrios Kyriakos and Kakia Archaniotaki. Among three other talented children, Vasso, Nelly and Georgios, Rena grew up in a cultural environment which appreciated her talent and fostered its development very early on.

Archaniotaki came from a distinguished commercial family of Archanes in Heraklion. She studied the piano during in her youth. Therefore, the family's social and economic environment shaped the character and musical spirit of Rena, most appropriately to recognise, unfold and develop her artistic sense that was given to her³.

Around 1919, Dimitrios Kyriakos was appointed architect-engineer at the Municipality of Athens. The Prime Minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos assigned him with the urban planning of the area of Neo Faliro, Kyriakos, and also the aesthetic renovation of many areas and buildings of Athens⁴. He managed to align the urban architecture of Heraklion with that of Athens⁵. He built the refugee camp on Alexandras Avenue and Kimonas Laskaris, as part of a program of the 1930s, for the accommodation of refugees from Asia Minor⁶.

This refugee camp has clear references to the Bauhaus movement⁷. Thus, Dimitrios Kyriakos' family and the children moved from Heraklion to Athens.

One evening, during the Greek Easter, Megali Paraskevi and Kakia Kyriakou took the children to the center of the capital to follow the litany of the Epitaph. Returning home, late at night, little Rena Kyriakou climbed on the stool to play an old Boisselot piano. She began improvising in imitation of the bells she heard earlier leaving in her mind an important impression. Later, this first improvisation evolved into her later composition *Les cloches*, which was published by Durand, the French

publishers, under the supervisor of her Professor at the Paris Conservatory, Isidor Philipp. Kyriakou was only three years old! This first improvisation developed into her compositions *The Church (La Messe)*, and *Monastère (Irrlichter)* and finally came to the current form of her famous composition *Les cloches*.

This triggered her interest in the piano which became her natural experimentation means. Every sound she heard, any rhythm which titillated her senses, any external impression stimulating her imagination, any daily activity was for her an enthusiastic experience, all of which constituting a rich material. She tried to decode images of her daily life at the piano with melodic and rhythmic schemes without having received the slightest musical training. These first elementary compositions followed one another and, in their development, became more and more complex⁸.

Kyriakou played her new creations and older pieces by heart⁹. But never were these mere repetitions of known melodies she heard before¹⁰. The result of this primary spiritual process was the *Fifteen Children Works for Piano* written from autumn 1921 till September 1923. This synthetic approach was a first-class pedagogical training for piano students. These compositions belong to the genre of descriptive music.

The musicologist and music critic Marcelle Bousquet-Ambiatte, recorded the first of Kyriakou's works as musical dictations, and compiled the first chronological list of works of the little composer. Kyriakou's following lost works were found by the writer in this chronological list: *Concert, Ballet, Noel* and *Chanson Drôle*¹¹.

Each of the *Fifteen Children Works for Piano*, is an image, an impression of the daily life of little Rena, such as *The Telegraph*, *The Rain*, *The Beautiful*, *Cretan Danse* etc. For this reason, because these youthful works of hers are images, impressions, rhythms of everyday life and fairy tales, they maintain a descriptive character with a strong romantic inspiration. Her preference for unusual scales comes from children's fingering abilities finding easier access to the black keys. They are mainly written in the ABA form, with powerful usage of distant conversions, of decoding richness, of interesting rhythmic choices and of the utilisation of the whole span of the piano with chords springing up as clear melodic lines. These early compositions concluded her first period. These compositions appear, at first,

as a pedagogical tool for learning the piano for the junior school years. The melodic lines are clear and original. The right hand goes up and down covering almost the entire span of the piano. The characteristic of the left hand is the use of sixteenths, where with the possibility of the appropriate dynamics the sound and colour possibilities of the instrument are fully used.

Two pedagogical goals were achieved: the strengthening of the fingers and the highlighting of the melodic line. Little Rena Kyriakou rehearsed her works everyday on her piano with unprecedented melodic and rhythmic precision.

One day, the novelist Pavlos Nirvanas heard her playing and begged Mr. Kyriakos to listen to her closely. And so, it happened. He could not believe his eyes and his ears. He immediately dedicated two insets in the newspaper *Estia*, where he was a columnist, which he entitled *Child of the Miracle*¹².

On the occasion of this publication in *Estia*, an interest in the phenomenon Rena erupted. All rushed to Kyriakou's house in Faliron to witness the miracle¹² composer. Professors of the Conservatory and music experts went to the cottage¹³.

The afternoon gatherings which took place at Kyriakou's house, the applauding, the comments from renowned musicians of the time and the impact of this recital, reinforced the decision to present Kyriakou officially to the Athenian public. A recital was held on Monday, December the 31st, 1923 at the Hall of the Philological Association 'Parnassos' at six in the afternoon¹⁴. She interpreted *Fifteen Children Work for Piano*¹⁵. When she appeared, a voice was heard saying: 'Is it possible? She is a baby¹⁶!'.

The reception of little Rena by the Greek press and renowned musicians was impressive¹⁷. The program of this concert was acclaimed with great comments by musicians among them Georgios Lambelet, Theodoros Synadinos, Manolis Skouloudis, Ivan Boutnikoff and Frank Choisy.

Kyriakou's first appearances in the Greek public, the warm and enthusiastic reception which she received, not only from the general audience but also from people who at that time held a key position in Greek music encouraged her parents to take more decisive actions for the most effective and complete education of the abilities of their child. At the same time the obvious interest and encouragement of the couple Nikolaos and Elena Politi¹⁸ who were close friends of the family and the full support of the prime minister of Greece his wife, Eleftherios and Elena

Venizelou, led the family to travel to Paris and seek the advice of specialists.

The Kyriakous went to Paris, to Munich and Vienna in order to find expert opinion from neuropathologists and special music educators who at that time were leaders of the music scene. According to the diagnosis issued by Nobel prize Charles Robert Richet, Kyriakou was an undoubtedly a genius without any abnormalities, well balanced and perfectly healthy: '*génie sans aucune anormalité, très équilibrée et d'une santé parfaite*'¹⁹. Little Rena gave auditions to composers of the Modern French School²⁰, among whom Albert Roussel²¹, Gabriel Pierné²², Jean Déré²³ and Vincent d'Indy²⁴. All of them wrote to Dimitrios Kyriakos and Nikolaos Politis to confirm her extremely gifted musical nature. They all agreed, that they had never seen such a phenomenon of a young age and suggested immediate guidance from experienced music educators for the preservation and smooth development of her talent.

Vincent d'Indy wrote: '*... Je tiens à vous informer que j'ai entendu Rena Kyriakos, la petite musicienne improvisatrice, et que cette enfant m'a paru douée de dons tout à fait exceptionnels [...] Comme l'état d'enfant-prodigie est essentiellement éphémère, il importe que cette petite fille reçoive sans tarder une solide instruction musicale, donnée par des maîtres qui sauraient la comprendre et pourraient la diriger sans la rebouter. Je suis heureux, quant à moi, de la recevoir à la Schola Cantorum, mais je ne puis préjuger des intentions de ses parents. Mais, au simple point de vue de l'Art, je crois pouvoir la recommander, en toute assurance, au représentant de son pays, en insistant pour que les plus grandes facilités pouvant être données à cette enfant, afin qu'elle soit instruite solidement en cet art pour lequel elle semble prédestinée*'²⁵ ...'

During that time, Rena Kyriakou, played for the Parisian public as a child prodigy from Greece, performing exclusively, her own works and received a warm welcome from the French Press. On March the seventh, 1925 Kyriakou played at the Salle Victor Hugo, on March the eighth at the Salle Mustel in a concert organised in her honour by the Politis at the Greek Embassy. The last concert was attended by Despoina Zervoudaki²⁶ who was so excited and introduced Rena Kyriakou to Eleftherios, Elena Venizelou and Lady Domini Crosfield.

The flame of Megali's Idea²⁷ burns in the heart of the Venizelos who saw in Rena's artistic talent a future glory for Greece and especially for Crete. He paid in full the costs of her studies. Kyriakou played her first *Cretan Dance*.

This strengthened the prestige of the Venizelos family throughout Europe. Granting this scholarship led to an important correspondence between Venizelos and Dimitrios Kyriakos. The condition was that her studies would be taken at the Conservatoire National Supérieur de Paris.

‘Cher Monsieur, appréciant le talent exceptionnel de votre fillette Rena je me ferai un plaisir d’entreprendre son éducation musicale au Conservatoire de Paris en lui assurant en même temps des leçons supplémentaires par un des meilleurs professeurs. Cette proposition est basée sur ma conviction absolue que c’est la seule manière sérieuse de développer son talent égal au génie²⁸...’. Elena Venizelos’s expressed what she thought of Rena Kyriakou in the following terms:

‘...Je suis convaincue que votre fillette deviendra une très grande artiste et que nous et la Grèce et toute l’Europe seront fière d’elle²⁹... ‘I am happy to inform you that all composers here recognise that she has a talent that is exceptional and that we all have the right to expect that she will honour Greece one day³⁰...’.

Concurrently, Kyriakou played in Berlin for Franz Shrecker³¹, Georg Szell³² and Max von Schillings³³, winning more praises.

After Berlin the Kyriakous moved to Munich. During their stay, Kyriakou completed basic theory and began harmony under the supervision of Richard Stöhr. From 1915 to 1938 Richard Stöhr taught theory and composition at the Academy of Vienna³⁴. Kyriakou continued her studies with Stöhr in Vienna³⁵.

Everything the family does is dedicated to promote little Rena’s talent. After Munich, the family travelled to Vienna³⁶. Rena’s first piano lesson was given by Hilda Müller-Pernitz who also wrote as a Music Critic in Vradyni, Vienna³⁷, then she was taught by the Greek pianist Aggelos Kessissoglū³⁸. Later, she studied with Wittgenstein and Weingarten:

‘On behalf of the management of the Academy under the direction of Paul Weingarten, it is confirmed that Miss Rena Kyriakou, successfully completed her harmony exams and thus can with any obstacle join the counterpoint class³⁹’.

During her studies in Vienna, Rena continued to compose, this time with her improved academic knowledge. She was now able to write *Notes Variations I Marigo*, for voice and piano. In this work Kyriakou draws rhythmic and melodic elements from the Greek folk-song, *Ena Nero Kyra – Vaggelio*.

After *Marigo*, Kyriakou wrote her *Second Cretan Dance*, composed in 1926⁴¹. This work was published in a private edition in Vienna on the twenty-eighth of July, 1926⁴². In January 1927, she wrote *Phantaisietanz*, and in February of the same year a *Prélude pour harmonium*, in C Major⁴⁴. In September of 1927, in Vienna, she wrote her *First Ballade*⁴⁵ and in 1927 composed her first big work *Rhapsody*⁴⁶. All of these works have been interpreted by my students of the Greek Music Ensemble, which I founded at the Music School of Karditsa in September 2016⁴⁷. These concerts included tributes to Rena Kyriakou where the present writer created the Musical Library of Greece, Lilian Voudouri, at the Athens Megaron Hall, to Music School of Karditsa and the Musical Academy of Plovdiv.

Another Tribute for Rena Kyriakou was organised in March 2020 at the cultural center of Delphi but it was cancelled because of the Corona Virus pandemic.

Rena Kyriakou's productions reached Austria. She wrote a *Tango*⁴⁸ in 1928. It was dedicated to Elena Politis and published by Albert Gutmann. In March 1928, in Vienna, Kyriakou composed her charming work *Kloste*⁴⁹. Her stay in Vienna was enriched with significant pieces, clear evocative rhythmic modules and harmonies consciously placed and oriented showing at the same time inexhaustible eloquence and rhythmic originality.

Richard Stöhr wrote about her evolution:

*'With this note I confirm that little Rena Kyriakou continued her studies with me during this semester while she was thoroughly is proportional and unexpected and if she wishes to continue, she may one day lead the reputation of her nation very high'*⁵⁰.

Simultaneously with her music education and her production, Kyriakou became well-known to the Austrian public. She performed her works in recitals with Lila Lalaouni and other Greek students, who studied at that time in Vienna⁵¹.

After completing her studies in Vienna, Kakia Archaniotaki and her four children moved to Paris in order to find a suitable teacher who would create a level of trust and security and at the same time would infuse love, discipline in the best possible way for Rena and her musical requirements.

There she met Isidor Philipp, an ideal teacher suited to her temperament and took private lessons with him⁵². Philipp⁵³ prepared Rena for her entrance at the Paris Conservatory. As a part of her preparation for the entrance exams Kyriakou took private lessons from Gabriel Pierné and Nadia Boulanger⁵⁴. The composer Albert Roussel took Rena Kyriakou to Nadia Boulanger's place⁵⁵.

As a part of her preparation at the end of June 1930, Kyriakou played in a close circle for a concert organised by Marcel de Valmalète. It included her compositions created in Paris⁵⁶. These were the *Fantastische Sonate*, *Prélude en mi mineur*, *Étude*, and her *First Burlesque*⁵⁷.

In September 1930, at the age of 12, Kyriakou among 124 candidates, was ranked in the top five and solemnly entered the Conservatoire de Paris⁵⁸. There she was admitted at Philipp's piano class and Jean Gallon's counterpoint class^{59/60}. This caused much curiosity and interest because she was the smallest in the class⁶¹. There were letters of congratulations for her performance at the exam, especially from Henri Busser, Albert Roussel, Gabriel Fauré, Domini Crosfield, Helena Venizelos and Ina Politis⁶². From their content we are informed that Rena Kyriakou continued her private lessons with Albert Roussel and Gabriel Fauré⁶³.

On the fourteenth of February 1931, her works *Kloster (Monastère)* op. 1 and *Burlesque N. 1*, op. 1⁶⁴ are presented in the context of concerts organised by the Société Nationale de Musique to highlight the work of young composers⁶⁵. Rena Kyriakou's name appeared in the same program⁶⁶ as those of Olivier Messiaen, Maurice Emmanuel, Arthur Pétronio, Roger Dussaut and others. Her archive contains three reviews in French music newspapers praising her skills despite her young age. There was G. Gerard at *Le Guide du Concert*⁶⁷, Marcel Belvianes at *Le Ménestrel*⁶⁸ and Georges Dandelot at *Le Monde Musical*⁶⁹. Rena Kyriakou's appearance at the Société Nationale de Paris was enthusiastically received in the Greek Press⁷⁰.

All knew by now that Rena Kyriakou had earned the Premier Prix de Piano from the Conservatoire de Paris in 1932. My research revealed that it had been preceded by a Deuxième Prix de Piano, on the twenty-seventh of June, 1931. Kyriakou played the *Sonata in b flat minor*, op. 35 by Frédéric Chopin as it was reported in the *Le petit parisien*, *Le Ménestrel*, *Ric et Rac* and *Le Courrier Musical*⁷¹. As Nelly Kyriakou-Kalliga reports, the Deuxième Prix de Piano was given to Rena Kyriakou, because her teacher, Isidor Philipp, decided that it was too early for her to end her piano studies and leave the Conservatoire de Paris⁷². Lucien Rebatet and Louis Schneider in particular praised her for the quality of her performances and her great personality. She went on playing all over France with critics writing that she was a great virtuoso with a deep sense of rhythm and charming expression.

The following year, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1932, Kyriakou won the Premier Prix de Piano, the first Greek success since the foundation of the Conservatoire⁷³.

She went on playing the *Symphonic Variations*, op. 13 by Robert Schumann and a difficult atonal work by Florent Schmitt (in fact she was the only candidate who played it with ease). One day before the contest, Rena's third finger was badly injured when she closed a shutter. The doctor came and astonishingly Rena played with only four fingers of one hand. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1932, she adapted the *Symphonic Variations* for four fingers, of which hand is not known. And so, she did with composure in front of the amazed eyes of the Jury of the Conservatoire de Paris which agreed that Kyriakou was the best ever Premier Prix.

The Parisian newspapers⁷⁴ covered her success with their articles. Stan Golestan at the *Figaro*⁷⁵, acknowledged Kyriakou's wonderful technique retaining great sensitivity alive. Henry Malherbe at *Le Temps* found that she was mature in her interpretations while going much beyond the musical text⁷⁶. Isidor Philipp and Frank Choisy admired her expressions, her great musical intelligence, and her rare

artistic virtues and her highly developed talent as a composer. According to Philipp, Rena Kyriakou was one of his best students compared to Guiomar Novaës, Anna Dorfman, Nikita Magaloff, Monique de la Bruchollerie, Jeanne-Marie Darré, Youra Güller, Jean Français, Marcelle Herrenschmidt and Phyllis Sellick⁷⁷.

Her Premier Prix led the way to famous European Concert-Halls, such as the Salle Victor Hugo, the Salle Mustel, the Salle Chopin, the Salle Majestic, the Salle Richelieu, the Salle Gaveau, the Salle de concerts du Conservatoire, the Foyer de Naples^{78/79} and the American Church in Paris⁸⁰.

The winner played on numerous occasions for Radio France and shows are broadcast in Greece. She introduced herself as a composer and included her compositions either as works within a program (usually between the works of Chopin and Liszt), or as an encore at the end of each concert. During this period, while she was touring as the winner of the First Prize of the Conservatoire, she played for Henri Rabaud, Henri Tomasi⁸¹, Paul Paray at the Colonne Orchestra and Albert Louis Wolf at the Pas-de-Loup Concerts⁸².

According to the journalist of the Chicago Daily Tribune, '*...Kyriakou is one of the most talented and gifted graduates of the last years of operation of the Conservatoire, as she demonstrates an unusual knowledge of piano technique while her composition have a strong personal style and have been presented in many capitals of Europe*'⁸³. The success of her performances helped her sign a world tour contract with the Office Théâtral Européen⁸⁴.

In March 1933, Dimitrios Kyriakos received a letter from Henri Rabaud, Henri Büsser and Jean Gällon proposing that Rena Kyriakou should take part at the composition competition at the Conservatoire de Paris of 1934, and later claim the *Prix de Rome*⁸⁵. Her teachers considered her to be wonderfully gifted with her compositions, but the most important point was that they found in her works a very characteristic style. 'Helena Venizelou did not allow my interest in you... if you really have talent, you do not need the Prix de Rome to excel⁸⁶...'. So, Kyriakou did not change her citizenship and did not take part at the composition competition of the Conservatoire which would have allowed her to continue her studies in composition at the Conservatory.

Venizelou intended to terminate Rena's Kyriakou scholarship. Kyriakou's archive contains a number of letters in which she wished continuing her composition

studies. The Director of Paris Conservatory, Henri Rabaud, sent a letter to Greek Ambassador Nikolaos Politis⁸⁷ who sent a letter to the Rector of University of Athens, Stylianos Seferiadis⁸⁸. Helena Politis and Edouard Heriot, a minister of the French government urged Gabriel Pierné to mediate for the same reasons with Paul Paray, the official conductor of the Concerts Colonne, and to seek financial support from the French Government for Rena Kyriakou⁸⁹. In August 1934, Kyriakou's composition teacher at the Conservatory, Henri Büsser, sent a recommendation letter to the Rector of University of Athens, Stylianos Seferiadis⁹⁰. In the same spirit, the professors of the Odeion Athinon, wrote a long letter to the Greek Minister of Education asking for financial support in favour of Kyriakou whose value is indisputable. The letter was signed by composition masters such as Dimitri Mitropoulos, Spyros Farantatos, Georgios Sklavos, Ivan Bonstitui, Antonios Skokos, Mikhail Veloudios⁹¹.

During that period Lady Domini Crosfield-Heliadi and Helena Venizelou invited Rena Kyriakou to spend a month with them at Crossfield mansion in Wittanhurst. After which Kyriakou wrote to her mother that they had an excellent time together⁹². Kyriakou played every evening but there was no outcome about the continuation of her scholarship. After this excellent time there, and with no reason, Venizelou interrupted her financial support perhaps because of the economic crisis that had erupted in Greece⁹³. One possible reason was the friendship which developed between Gina Bachauer and Lady Domini Crosfield. Gina Bachauer was resting at Wittanhurst during her official concerts with the London Philharmonia. Dimitris Mitropoulos was also there for the same reason. The support of Lady Domini Crosfield was known to Greek artists.

The last period of Kyriakou's artistic activities in France was from 1937 to 1975. In 1937 the Academy of Athens, the Ministry of Education, the Orthodox Community of Trieste, the Greek Embassy in Paris, the French Embassy in Greece and the American Foundation dealing with the promotion of French Art awarded her with funding. This amount allowed her to return to the French capital and continue her studies with Henri Büsser. Büsser and Kyriakou engaged in many exchanges of letters during that time, as she did with Isidor Philipp. Büsser inspired and guided her constantly in praise of the originality of her compositions mentioning his difficulties in playing them, proposed new works for her repertory

studies and constantly declared himself an admirer of her unsurpassed talent.

In the Kyriakou Archive a handwritten composition for voice and piano, by Büsser was found and dedicated to Kyriakou, under the title: *Fandazio: 'à ma chère élève et grande amie Rena Kyriakou, Henry Busser, Mars 1967'*. This composition was not found in the official catalogue of the composer's works⁹⁴. In 1938, her already famous works *Les cloches*, op. 9 and *Burlesque* No. 2, opus 9 were published with Durand in Paris.

These works are included in thirty of her concert programs which received great reviews worldwide and praise to their composer⁹⁵.

After her Premier Prix, Kyriakou returned to Greece and never showed her disappointment about the interruption of her scholarship at the most critical moment of her studies. She continued to perform and collaborated with prominent musicians such as Dimitri Mitropoulos, Theodoros Vavayiannis, Filoktitis Oikonomidis, Mihailo Vukdragović, George Georgescu and Georg Solti⁹⁶. During the same period Kyriakou toured Greece, France, Hungary and Yugoslavia, where the Regent of Yugoslavia awarded her the Order of Saint Sava⁹⁷. There, Kyriakou played her own compositions.

Kyriakou was keen to be recognised both as a performer and as a composer. Listening to her works, Greek critics questioned her abilities in the field of composition, especially Alexandra Lalaouni who was the mother of the composer Lila Lalaouni, the composer Manolis Skouloudis who was one of the first copyists of Rena Kyriakou's works, Frank Choisy, Avra Theodoropoulou, Sofia Spanoudi, Nikolaos Vergotis, Mary Bousbourelli-Chalkia and Alex Thurneyssen who all argued that Kyriakou should abandon composition and devote herself entirely to her solo career, which had already reached a level of international recognition. The reviews of Ioannis Psaroudas and Dimitrios Hamoudopoulos agreed and sometimes they recognised her creative genius and at other times claimed that her compositions lacked originality⁹⁸.

However, the critics of all foreign musicologists were clear, as they approved of both her interpretations and compositions. For foreign writers, Kyriakou played her personal aesthetic principles and her own musical criteria shaping an indisputable personal style of interpretation⁹⁹. Her virtuosity and her need to express herself in a modern synthetic language led her to create original and demanding works which

were difficult to understand at a first audition. The objective judgement of her compositions indicated a well-formed musical consciousness which would have been shaped by the knowledge of the modern repertoire¹⁰⁰.

In 1943, she premiered her *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*, op. 18 which was the first piano concerto by a Greek female composer, with conductor Theodoros Vavayiannis and the Athens State Orchestra, at the Pallas Concert Hall. It was performed again in Geneva in 1954, with the Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under Jean Meylan and at the Athens Concert Hall in November 2009, with pianist Domna Evnouhidou and Miltos Logiadis conducting the Athens State Orchestra.

It was difficult for Rena Kyriakou to achieve recognition as a composer in Greece, due to her style as well as her gender. She was active at a time when Greek music had to be national in character in order to survive. And at such a time she dared to propose her own personal music views. Greek audiences were not prepared to appreciate these experimentations¹⁰¹.

At the same period Rena Kyriakou kept in touch with Isidor Philipp, who guided her artistically, accurately and discreetly. Rena continued to correspond with him until his death. With Isidor Philipp's agreement, she turned to research and promotion of piano works of hitherto neglected composers such as Félix Mendelssohn, Emmanuel Chabrier and Isaac Albéniz, playing their complete works in collaboration with Vox. For the same company she recorded works by Antonio Soler, John Field, Jan Dusik, Gabriel Fauré among others. Kyriakou recorded the works of these composers despite their dissemination not only in the French media, but worldwide, in all her recitals, as required by the terms of the contract with Vox.

According to Pavlos Kalligas's testimony, her nephew, the musician signed and recorded with Vox, the whole works of Camille Saint-Saëns¹⁰². However, for reasons still unclear, this series was never published.

She had a prodigious memory, and never used a score in concert to the surprise of all the great conductors, she collaborated with famous conductors such as Hans Swarowsky, Carl August Bunte, Robert Wagner, Edmond Appia, Hubert Reichert, Mathieu Lange, Carl Rucht, Christian Vochting, Vaclac Smetacek, Rudolf Kempe, Maurice Le Roux, Armin Jordan, Rudolf Moralt, Toni Louis Alexandre Aubin,

Henri Rabaud, Sir Malcolm Sargent, Sir Georg Solti, Jean Meylan, Dimitri Mitropoulos, Dimitris Chorafas, Miltiadis Karydis, Theodoros Vavayiannis, and Andreas Paridis¹⁰³.

She also collaborated with such famous orchestras as the Vienna String Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Orchestra, the Philharmonia Hungarica, the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire de Paris, the Torquay Symphony Orchestra, the Westfalen Symphony Orchestra, the Innsbruck Symphony Orchestra, the Berlin Symphony Orchestra and the Athens and Thessaloniki State Orchestras.

For Rena Kyriakou, the recordings were the most important part of her music activity, since, according to her, it is a work that will remain unchanged over the years. She leaves an invaluable legacy of recordings with passion and meticulousness, aiming at nothing less than perfection. She had complete control of herself and handled the dynamics graduations with exceptional finesse and precision. No musical phrase was ever interpreted by chance. It is in this musical precision that she transcended to reinvent the work she performed.

Perhaps, because she was a composer, she managed to give colour in the most ideal manner in harmonic and dramatic expressions for each composer. Bruno Walter in his essays on Gustav Mahler emphasised: '*Only a remarkable recreative ego is able to penetrate the work of a great creator and perform it*'.

The album critics of the most prestigious French magazines argued that with her recordings a new level of quality was laid for how the music should be played. They said that Kyriakou '*dessine la musique*', designs the music. Regarding the reviews of her records the results are very interesting. On the one hand because the tributes and judgements of the French music critics are resounding and classify Kyriakou out of competition; on the other hand, at the same time, no comments appear in the Greek Press about the quality of her recordings. However, when Kyriakou presented her compositions to the Greek public a large number of Greek music critics rushed to discourage her. The same did not happen with the French critics who expressed themselves with the same respect, both for her interpretations and her compositions.

In 1957¹⁰⁴, the United States Department of America and the Fulbright State Scholarship Foundation invited the Greek soloist to the United States to study American music. During her stay in America she recorded Piano Sonatas by Padre

Antonio Soler, with the Vox American Company¹⁰⁵.

In 1959¹⁰⁶, Kyriakou recorded *Études op. 10*, and the *Four Impromptus* by Frédéric Chopin. This edition is part of collection of records featuring other distinguished soloists of the times such as Guiomar Novaës, Walter Klien, Peter Frankl, Orazio Frugoni, Felicia Blumenthal and Ingrid Haebler. Roland Chaillon of the *Journal des instituteurs et des institutrices*, believed that Kyriakou's artistic physiognomy summarises all those elements required for the most comprehensive interpretations of the works of the great romantic. He concludes that she is a perfected alloy of technical durability, elegance and sensitivity since she achieves and miraculously combines expressive flexibility, finger agility, the fluidity of the harps and the folding of the melody. They considered her interpretive proposal extremely important.

In May 1960¹⁰⁷, Vox, in collaboration with the Greek soloist released Emmanuel's Chabrier piano recordings. Until then the composer was best known for his *España*. Howard Klein in the New York Times compared Arthur Rubinstein's performance to that of Kyriakou in Chabrier's *Scherzo-Valse*. He argued that in no case did Rubinstein succeed in penetrating Chabrier's spirit in the way that Kyriakou achieved it, since despite his rhythmic and lively approach he did not achieve the poetic performance of the work unlike Kyriakou's interpretation which exudes sensitivity¹⁰⁸. He underlined that Kyriakou lighted up the issue with emphasis repeating it in a veil of pedals in order to create contrasts. In her hands the piece creates a unique atmosphere while Rubinstein makes it sound like a simple *étude de piano*.

The Record and Recordings critic in two November 1970 publications, considers that the performance of the artistique couple Kyriakou-Klien of *Turnabout* is clearly superior to that of Jacqueline Bonneau and Genevieve Joy in *Valses Romantiques* of Chabrier of the *World Record Club*¹⁰⁹.

In June 1950, for the first time, the Paris Conservatory invited a Greek artist as Jury member of the annual piano competition organised by the foundation. Kyriakou was Jury member at major piano competitions such as the annual Concours International d'Exécution Musicale de Genève, the Montréal International Piano Competition, the International Piano Competition of the Atheneum Conservatory in Athens.

In June 1963, Kyriakou was elected honorary member of the Mendelssohn International Society alongside Alfred Cortot and Pablo Casals¹¹⁰. In August of the same year the French Government honoured Kyriakou for her performances of Mendelssohn and Chabrier. A Minister of State in France, in charge of cultural affairs, Albert Beuret, sent a letter to Rena Kyriakou in which he awards her with the French Chevalier des Ordres of Arts and Letters¹¹¹.

END NOTES

Nota Bene: I.M.K. – A.P.K. = Historical Museum of Crete- Rena Kiriakou Archive. Some sources are labelled as unknown by the author. We have deleted the term ‘unknown’ as such sources are unreferenced therefore only anecdotic.

1 Romanou’s Master of Music in Musicology (Indiana University Bloomington) was the translation of the *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos.

2 Romanou was a great pedagogue, with a natural way, when she showed a real interest about Greek music, she did everything to enforce it, she did it with all her students.

3 Since 1934 Leuteris Alexiou had set up the *Studio* in Herakleion, where he housed his office, library and collection of records, at 3 Argyraki Street, next to the printing house of his father publisher and printer Stylianos Alexiou. The walls were decorated with paintings by Takis Kalmouchos. There, he gathered around him a group of artist and novelists. Such as the novelist Velisarios Freris, the poet Michalis Anastasiou, the architect Dimitrios Kyriakos: (internet source: <http://www.history.heraklion.gr>, date of access: 21/2/2010). Also: ‘Since 1934, a group of writers and art lovers of Heraklion has been hosted until 1940, in the Studio of Lefteris Alexiou, which is housed in today’s Argyraki Street. Members of the *Studio* are the poet Petros Styliitis, the novelist Velissarios Freris, the philologist and poet Michalis Anastasiou, the architect Dimitris Kyriakos, Manolis Georgiadis and others. They visited it in their arrival to Heraklion Nikos Kazantzakis, Markos Aygeris, Vassos Daskalakis, the Italian archaeologist Doro Levi and others. In 1939, author Henry Miller visits the *Studio*. Introduction of scientific symposium practices in the Historical Museum of Crete: *Crete: Life in the City (1898 – 1940) – Tiles of cultural history*, March 30-31, 2007, p. 9. Visitors, also of the *Studio* was the director of Museum of Heraklion, Spyros Marinatos, the Cretan poets Dimakis and Dikteos and the novelist Henry Miller who wrote for *Studio* in *The Colossus of Maroussi*: ‘...There were saved, as in the old monasteries, everything that civilised Europe had created in poetry and music’.

4 Dimitrios Kyriakos was considered by the protagonists of neoclassicism and managed with his ambitious work to change the face of the city of Heraklion. See Yannis Pertsakis, ‘*Period of Autonomy*’ - ‘*Heraklion: Chaos with Grace. Outline of what happened, what is happening and what about is to be born in the labyrinth of an urban vision, The Myth of Ariadne – Unfolding the history of the city of Heraklion*’, R. S. Kanaki, Heraclion Independent Municipal Party Initiative Heraklion, 2000, pp. 263-265. Hrysoyla Tzobanaki, ‘*From the era of Autonomy to the years before War II, Heraklion within the walls – Urban architecture of modern times from the early 19th to the fourth decade of the 20th century*’, Technical Chamber of Crete / Section of East Crete, Heraklion, Crete p. 97.

5 Hrysoyla Tzobanaki, ‘*The period of the Cretan State, Heraklion and its region, Journey through time-history, archaeology, literature, society*’. Nikos Yiourtakis, Center of Cretan Litterature, General Secretarian of Olympic Games, Heraklion 2004, pp. 400-405.

6 Dimitrios Galanis, ‘How the Boulevard will turn green’, *The Sunday Vima*, February 29, 2004, source: <http://www.tovima.gr>, date of access: 13/10/2013).

7 Dimitrios Kyriakos also designed three houses influenced by the Bauhaus in Aegina. One belonged to Nikos and Eleni Kazantzaki and the two others to Dimitrios Kyriakos and Takis Kalmouchos. Then it came under the rule of Rena Kyriakos. Oral testimony of Pavlos Kalligas, Kolonaki, Athens, 13th of July 2013.

8 Mihalis Kyriakidis, ‘*From Greek Music – The child prodigy in its evolution – The work of Rena Kyriakou*’, Proia, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/45.

9 As emerged from my present investigation Kyriakou was distinguished for her amazing skills. She almost never used scores – not even during her recordings.

10 Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘The problems of a genius – The phenomenon of little Rena’, *The illustrated of Greece*, 1925, p. 13.

11 Christina Kl. Giannelou, ‘*Rena Kyriakou en France*’, a Tribute to Rena Kyriakou, Music Library of Lilian Voudouri, November the 3rd 2017, Athens, p. 2.

12 Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘*From Life – The child prodigy*’, Estia, June 16, 1922, p. 2. Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘*The problems of a genius – The special case of little Rena*’, *The illustrated paper of Greece*, 1925, p. 1.

13 Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘*From Life – The child prodigy*’, Estia, June 16, 1922, p. 2.

14 Recital Programme of age 6 composer Rena Kyriakou in her own works. Monday 31st of December, 1923 Parnassos.

15 ‘*Antilalos*’, *Hora*, Athens, Sunday, December 23rd, 1923, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Announcement, ‘*Athens Days and Nights*’ – ‘*The littlest musician*’, Eleftheros Logos, December 26th 1923, , I.M.K. – A.P.K. ‘*The little Composer*’, *Estia*, December 20th, 1923. ‘*Rena*’, Eleftheri Skepsi, May, 19th, 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K.: ‘*Music Review*’- The recital of Rena Kyriakou, Neos Kosmos I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/91. Kostas Parashos, ‘*The musical movement – On the occasion of a concert*’, I Proia, December 17, 1943, I.M.K. – A.P.K. ‘*La pianiste Rena Kyriakou sera bientôt au Caire*’, *Le Progrès Egyptien*, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/70.

16 Written testimony of Nelly Kyriakou – Kalliga.

17 Theodoros Synadinos, ‘*A musical phenomenon – A little girl of five years old is a composer! Plays piano and composing without knowing music*’, *Musical Epithesis 8th*, May, 1922, p. 1, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Theodoros N. Synadinos, ‘*Musical Notes – Rena*’, Eleftheri Skepsi, May 24th, 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/92. Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘*From Life – The child prodigy*’, Estia, 16th of June, 1922, p. 2, I.M.K. – A.P.K.: Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘*The problems*

of a genius – The special case of little Rena’, *The illustrated paper of Greece* 1925, p. 13, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/32. Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘Whatever time brings – Her psychological biography’, *Eleftheros Typos*, January 13th, 1924, I.M.K.-A.P.K. 1/21. Georgios Sklavos, ‘Around the child of miracle – The opinion of the experts for the little composer’, *Mousiki Epitheorisi* 9th, June 1922, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Faidon (Zaharias Papantoniou), ‘Athenians letters – The child prodigy’, *I Diaplasia ton Paidon*, 26th of June, 1922, p. 236, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/7. Mikhalis Kyriakidis, ‘From Greek Music – The child miracle in its evolution – The work of Rena Kyriakou’, *Proia*, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Georgios Lambelot, ‘Music Issues – The geniuses’, *Eleftheros Typos*, 7th of December, 1923, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘The Gamer’, *Estia*, 2nd of August, 1922, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/9.

18 In January of 1925, Nikolaos Politis, a close associate of Eleftherios Venizelos, was the first representative of Greece in the League of Nations, a position he held since 1920. See ‘Letter of Nikolaos Politis to Eleftherios Venizelos on the Minority Protocol’, Brussels, 13th January 1925, Benaki Museum, Archive of Eleftherios Venizelos, envelope 272/1.

19 Richet’s opinion on Kyriakou is conveyed through an article of Pavlos Nirvanas. See Pavlos Nirvanas, ‘The Problems of Genius – The Phenomenon of Little Rena’, *The illustrated of Greece*, 1925 p. 13, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Theatrikos, ‘Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou’, *Evdomas*, March 25th 1936, p. 5. I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11. Informations for Charles Richet’s investigation see Stewart Wolf, ‘Charles Richet and the Origins of Physiological Psychology’, *Brain, Mind and Medicine*, Transaction Publisher’s, N. J. / London, 1993, pp. 382-383.

20 René Dumensil, ‘Portraits de musiciens contemporains – Albert Roussel’, *Portraits de musiciens français*, Editions d’histoire et d’art, Plon 1938, pp. 212-225.

21 See letter from Albert Roussel to Nikolaos Politis, 157, Avenue Wagram, Paris, March 4, 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/2 and 6/2A.

22 See letter from Gabriel Pierné to Nikolaos Politis, Association Artistique Concert Colonne, Paris, February 18th, 1925, I.M.K.- A.P.K. 6/7. For the opinion of Pierné on little Rena Kyriakou the journalist of *Evdomas* writes: ‘Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou’, *Evdomas*, March, 25th, 1936, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11.

23 See letter from Jean Déré to Dimitrios Kyriakos, ‘Les Granges’, Ste. Suzanne (Mayenne), April 7th, 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/10.

24 See letter from Vincent d’Indy to Nikolaos Politis, Schola Cantorum, École Supérieure de Musique, Rue St-Jacques, 269, Paris, 12nd of April 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/9.

25 *Ibidem*

26 Despoina Zervudacki was the mother in law of Sofoklis Venizelos.

27 ‘Megali Idea’ was the main policy of the Greek State until the Asia Minor catastrophe, which aimed at the Greek State to liberate all areas of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by large Greek populations and all areas traditionally owned by Greeks in ancient times (Southern Balkan, Asia, Minor Asia).

28 Letter from Helena Venizelos to Dimitrios Kyriakos, 22 Rue Beaujon, Paris VIII^{ème}, 17th of April 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/25.

29 Letter from Helena Venizelos to Dimitrios Kyriakos, 22 Rue Beaujon, Paris VIII^{ème}, 14th of April, 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/24.

30 Letter from Helena Venizelos to Pavlos Nirvanas, 22 Rue Beaujon, Paris VIII^{ème}, 14th of April 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/23.

31 Theatrikos, ‘Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou’, *Evdomas*, 25th of March, 1936, p. 5, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11. Tim Ashley, ‘Schreker Franz (August Julius)’, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, and Christopher Hailey, ‘Schreker Franz (August Julius)’, *Grove Music Online*.

32 Letter from George Szell to Kyriakou’s couple, General-Verwaltung der Staatstheater, Musik-Direktion, 2nd of May, 1925, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/11, and also Theatrikos, ‘Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou’, *Evdomas*, 25th of March, 1936, p. 5, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11.

33 Frank Choisy informs us that Max von Schillings, composer, conductor and Director of Berlin’s opera until 1925 also ruled on Kyriakou’s case. See Erik Levi, ‘Max von Schillings’, *Grove Music OnLine*. Frank Choisy, ‘Musical geniuses - Miss Rena Kyriakou’, *O Typos*, Monday 14th of January, 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/80. Short curriculum vitae of Rena Kyriakou, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 8/1.

34 Velissarios Freris, ‘Rena Kyriakou’, *Panaigyptia*, 11th of August, 1928, p. 444, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/49. Confirmation of Dr. Richard Stöhr, 11th of February, 1926, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/13.

35 Until now it was known that Rena Kyriakou had studied with Richard Stöhr only in Vienna. After the discovery of the confirmations of Stöhr by the writer, was revealed that Rena Kyriakou had taken private lessons from him in Munich. Confirmation of Dr. Richard Stöhr, 22nd of June, 1926, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/13B.

36 Konstantinos Parashos, ‘Musical movement – On the occasion of a concert’, *I Proia*, Friday, 17th of December 1943, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/44.

37 During the period 1927 – 1928, Hilda Müller-Pernitz, the violinist Fritzi Böhnel-Eiblein and the cellist Otto Stieglitz were a famous trio with piano in Vienna: Ensemble Database (ATA/E)-Index of Performing Piano Trios,

http://www.altenbergtrio.at/?site=archive_ensemble&triofilter=m&lp=en, date of access: 22/2/2010.

38 Paul Bechert, 'Musical Notes from abroad, Vienna – Chamber music and soloists', *The Musical Times* 65/976, 1st of June, 1924, pp. 555-558. Peter Gradenwitz, 'Music in Palestine', *The Musical Times* 80/1153, 'Significant Greek pianists of the past: detailed recording of the discography and a brief biographical report', *Polyphonia* 18, Spring 2011, p. 46.

39 Recommandation Letter of Dr. Paul Weingarten, Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna, 25th of June, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/1. 'Amusical talent', *Patris*, Tuesday 8th of July, 1930, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/52. Theatrikos, 'Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou', Evdomas, 25th of March 1936, p. 5, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11. Dr. Milojevic, 'The concert of pianist Miss Rena Kyriakou', *Politika*, Belgrade, 11th of January 1937, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/22.

40 The Archive of Rena Kyriakou includes both the original design, and the final form that the work took. Under the title of the work Kyriakou writes the word 'Syrtos', which is the mode of a traditional Greek dance. See Compositions of Rena Kyriakou, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 16/2.

41 Compositions of Rena Kyriakou, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 16/2.

42 Pavlos Kalligas, 'Introduction to composing work of Rena Kyriakou', *Mousikos Logos* 3, Nefeli, Autumn 2001, p. 167.

43 Compositions of Rena Kyriakou, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 16/2. 44

Ibidem.

45 Ibidem.

46 Ibidem.

47 Ibidem.

48 Συνθέσεις Πένας Κυριακού, I.M.K. – *Loc. Cit.*

49 ibidem.

50 Certificate of Dr. Richard Stöhr to Rectory of Athens, without date, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/12. This last certificate was sent by Richard Stöhr to confirm and to strengthen the effort for the granting of a composition scholarship on Kyriakou in 1934 by the Academy of Athens.

51 Der Salon, Vienna, April 1927, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/40. 'Der Verein Griechischer Akademiker in Wien', Neue Wiener Zeitung, 1st April 1927, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/39. 'Der Verein Griechischer Akademiker in Wien', Neue Wiener Zeitung, 1st of April, 1927, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/39. Unknown, 'Ein musikalisches Wunderkind', Allgemeine Zeitung, 3rd of April, 1927, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/39. 'Kunst und Wissenschaft', Deutchoesterreichische Tages Zeitung, 5th of April 1927, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/39. Also see the programmes of her concerts: 'Herrn Jean Couthalexis vom Verein der Griechischen Akademiker in Wien veranstalteter Festabend am 25, März 1927, um ½ 9 Uhr abends, im Herrenhof (Neuer Saal), I., Herrengasse 10', I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/4. 'Herrn Jean Couthalexis vom Verein der Griechischen Akademiker in Wien veranstalteter Festabend am 25th March 1928, um ½ 9 Uhr abends, im Herrenhof (Neuer Saal), I., Herrengasse 10', I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/5.

52 Dr. Milojevic, 'The concert of pianist Miss Rena Kyriakou', *Politika* (Belgrade), 11th of January, 1937, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/22.

53 'The best pupils of Philipp were Guiomar Novaës, Anna Dorfman, Nikita Magaloff, Rena Kyriakou, Monique de la Bruschollerie, Jean-Marie Darré, Youra Guller, Jean Français, Marcelle Herrenschmidt and Phyllis Sellick. Students also of Isidor Philipp were Marika Papaioannou and Maria Hairogiorgou-Sigara. See James Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing: From the Composer to the Present Day*, London, 1981, p. 92.

54 Nadia Boulanger, agendas, 1925, Département de la musique de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Res. Vmf. ms. 93. Alexandra Laederich, Déléguée générale, Centre international Nadia et Lili Boulanger, 25, avenue des Gobelins, 75013 Paris, France.

55 Letter from Albert Roussel to Kakia Kyriakou, 15th of March, 1929, Paris, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/6. 56. 56
'A music talent', I Patirs, Tuesday, 8th of July, 1930, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/52.

57 Compositions of Rena Kyriakou, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 16/3.

58 'A Greek Composer', Estia, Tuesday, 18th of November 1930, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/53: 'Sont définitivement admis comme élèves: piano: à titre étranger: Mles de Liebenthal, Hara, Hamilton, Kyriakou, Monteau, Chipiloff', *Le Ménestrel* 92/48, Friday, 28th of November 1930, p. 512: 'Sont définitivement admis comme élèves: piano: à titre étranger: Mles de Liebenthal, Hara, Hamilton, Kyriakou, Monteau, Chipiloff'. Unknown, 'Rena Kyriakou', Kirix, Sunday, 30th of November, 1930, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/53. Unknown, 'Artistics – Rena Kyriakou', *Tahydromos* (Volos), 13th of December 1936, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/17.

59 Philippe Lescat, 'Le conservatoire sous Henri Rabaud (1920-1939)', *L'enseignement musical en France de 1929 à 1972. 71 plans, chronologie, lieux, élèves, maîtres, études, emploi du temps, classes manuels*, Editions J. M. Fuzeau (Mnemosis – Mémoire de la Musique / Collection dirigée par Philippe Lescat), Courlay 2001, 196-198. The teaching staff of Conservatory was as if: ten professors were working as contractors to the Conservatoire: A. Roussel, G. Pierné, P. Paray, G. Charpentier, A. Boschet, G. Hue, G. Grovez, J. Ibert, L. Masson and H. Malherbe. four professors were

appointed by the Minister, M. Samuel-Rousseau, H. Büsser, P. Gaumbert and Mme M. Long, and the personal guides of the Conservatory were: Jean Déré and Mme Rousseau. Responsible for lyrical singing song was Théodore Dubois, for composition H. Büsser and R. Ducasse, and official partner E. Vuillermoz.

60 *Ibidem*, P. Lescat, 'Le conservatoire sous Henri Rabaud (1920-1939)', pp. 196-198.

61 Written Memories of Nelly Kyriakou – Kalliga, p. 25.

62 Christina Kl. Giannelou, 'Rena Kyriakou en France', a Tribute to Rena Kyriakou in *Big Music Library of Greece 'Lilian Voudouri'*, curated by Christina Giannelou, 3rd of November 2017, p. 3.

63 The letter was sent from Gabriel Fauré's office: 'Madame, nous sommes très heureux de revoir Mademoiselle Kyriakou que nous félicitons de son entrée au Conservatoire...'. See letter from Albert Roussel to Kakia Archaniotaki, 27 rue Legendre (Gabriel Faure's office), 24th of January, 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/5.

64 Premières auditions de la semaine', 'Avec le concours de l'auteur', 'Société Nationale de Musique', La Semaine à Paris 455, 13th – 20th of February, 1931, pp. 43, 44 and 46. An artistic event – The success of Rena Kyriakou is a Greek success – The review of foreigners', Héraklion, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/65. Frank Choisy, 'Music Genius – Miss Rena Kyriakou', O Typos, Monday, 14th of January 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/80.

65 Marcel Belvianes, 'Société Nationale de Musique (14 février)', Le Ménestrel, 20 February 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/55. Marcel Belvianes, 'Société Nationale de Musique (14 février)', Le Ménestrel, 20th of February, 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/55. In this recital Kyriakou performed three of her works for piano. The last one was performed as encore.

66 523^{ème} Concert donné par la Société Nationale de Musique. Programme: 1. *Sonatine pour hautbois et piano*, Art. Pétriono (1^{ère} Audition), 2. *Trois Mélodies*, Olivier Messiaen (1^{ère} Audition), 3. *Deux pièces pour piano*, Renée Kiryakou (1^{ère} Audition), a) *Monastère*, b) *Burlesque*, 4. *Sonate pour violoncelle et piano*, P. de Bréville, *Sonatine IV sur des modes hindous* (1920) (dédicée à Busoni), Maurice Emmanuel (1^{ère} Audition), *Quatuor à Cordes* (1923), Roger Dussaut (1^{ère} Audition): Programme from récital à la Salle Chopin auspices of Société Nationale de Musique. 523^{ème} Concert donné par la Société Nationale de Musique, Salle Chopin, 8, Rue Daru, Saturday, 14th of February 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/6. Kostas Parashos, 'The musical movement – On the occasion of a concert', I Proia, Friday, 17th of December, 1943, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/44. Mihalis Kyriakidis, 'From Greek Music – The child prodigy in its evolution – The work of Rena Kyriakou', Proia, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/45. Programme of a concert, I.M.K. – A.P.K.

67 G. Gérard, 'Pièces (piano), Rena Kyriakou', Le Guide du Concert, 13th February 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/63. G. Gérard, 'Pièces (piano), Rena Kyriakou', Le Guide du Concert, 13th of February, 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/63.

68 Marcel Belvianes, 'Société Nationale de Musique (14 février)', Le Ménestrel, 20 February 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/55. Marcel Belvianes, 'Société Nationale de Musique (14 février)', Le Ménestrel, 20th of February, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/55.

69 Georges Dandelot, *Le Monde Musical*, 28th of February 1931, p. 58, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/56.

70 Unknown, 'Rena Kyriakou became a maître', Heraklion, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/54. I.M. 'Our Rena', Eleftheri Skepsi, 17th of February, 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/61. Asmodaios, 'As life goes on – Rena Kyriakou', Anorthosis, Heraklion, 12th of March 1931, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/57. After the suggestion for Rena Kyriakou to contribute to Société Nationale de Musique, Henri Busser suggests her to participate to Prix de Rome of 1934. Manolis Skouloudis, 'Musicological Reviews – Récital of Rena Kyriakou', Thursday, 18th of April 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/88.

71 Louis Schneider, 'Le concours du conservatoire – Piano (femmes)', Le petit parisien 56/19843, Sunday, 28th of June, 1931, p. 2. Louis Schneider, 'Piano (femmes – Samedi 27 Juin)', Le Ménestrel 93/27, Friday 3rd of July, 1931, pp. 297, 298. Lucien Rebattet, 'La Musique – Le concours du Conservatoire', Ric et Rac 3/123, Saturday, 18th of July 1931, p. 6. 'Mlle Rena Kiryakou, 2e Prix de Piano, Classe Philipp', Le Courrier Musical, 3rd of July 1931, p. 471, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/62. 'Rena Kyriakou was awarded in Paris', *Estia*, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/69. Theatrikos, 'Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou', Evdomas, 25th of March, 1936, p. 5, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11.

72 Written testimony of Nelly Kyriakou – Kalliga (sister of Rena Kyriakou), p. 26.

73 The information that Kyriakou was the first Greek composer who won the Premier Prix on Paris Conservatory delivered from the articles below: 'An artistique event', *The review of foreigners*, Heraklion, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/65. Frank Choisy, 'Music Genius – Miss Rena Kyriakou', O Typos, Monday, 14th of January, 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/80. 'The concert of Rena Kyriakou', Proia, 18th of April, 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/90. Th. N. Synadinos, 'Musical Notes – Rena', Eleftheri Skepsi, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/92. 'The recital of Saturday – Rena Kyriakou' (Premier Prix de Piano de Conservatoire National de Paris), I Phoni tis Kritis, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/98. Unknown, 'The review – Music', Elefthera Gnomi, 13th of March, 1936, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/9. Theatrikos, 'Music Stars – Rena Kyriakou', Evdomas, 25th of March, 1936, p. 5, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/11. 'Récital of Rena Kyriakou', Nea Alitheia (Thessaloniki), 4th of November 1936, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/14. 'Artistiques – Rena Kyriakou', Tahydromos (Volos), 13th of December, 1936, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/17. St. Vinaver, Chef de la Section de Propagande, Bureau Central de

Presse auprès de la Présidente du Conseil des Ministres, Radio de Belgrade, St. Vinaver, Chef de la Section de Propagande, Bureau Central de Presse auprès du Président du Conseil des Ministres, Radio de Belgrade, Belgrade, 8th of January 1937, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/25. Pavlos Nirvanas, 'From *Life and Art* – Little Rena', *Nea Estia* 135, Athens, 1st of August, 1932, p. 789.

74 Unknown, 'Piano – femmes', *Le Courrier Musical*, 15th of July – 11th of August, 1932, p. 372, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/68. Louis Schneider, 'Concours du Conservatoire – Piano (femmes) – Mercredi 29 Juin', *Le Ménestrel* 94/28, 1932, p. 291-292.

75 Stan Golestan, 'Concours du Conservatoire – Piano femmes – Pièce imposée: Études Symphoniques, op. 13 de R. Schumann; lecture à vue de M. Florent Schmitt, hérisse de difficultés', *Figaro* 107/182, Thursday, 30th of June, 1932, p. 4.

76 Henry Malherbe, 'La Musique – Au Conservatoire: concours d'orgue, de piano, de violon et de harpe', *Le Temps* 72/25889, Wednesday, 13th of July, 1932, p. 2.

77 See Letter of Isidor to Frank Choisy, Paris, 1932. Isidor Philipp's thoughts about Rena Kyriakou are summarised in the following articles 'Greek artists from aboard', *Estia*, 1932, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/66. 'Honors to Greek Artist', *Proia*, 17th of July, 1932, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/69. 'Greek artists – Miss Rena Kyriakou – Her Triumph in Paris', *I Foni tou Laou, Heraklion*, 23rd of July, 1932, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/70.

78 Salles des concerts du Conservatoire, M. le Sous-Sectaire d'Etat aux Beaux-Arts, Concert Annuel, donné au bénéfice de la Caisse de Secours l'Association des Anciens élèves du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation, par les 1ers Prix du Conservatoire de 1932, Musique et Déclamation, Scènes et morceaux de Concours', I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/9. 'Cercle Artistique et Littéraire dit Cercle Volney, Audition des Lauréats du Conservatoire, Chant – Piano – Violon – Violoncelle – Tragédie – Comédie – Opéra – Opéra-Comique – Danse. Programme: Études Symphoniques (Schumann). Mlle Rena Kyriakou, 1er Prix de Piano (Elève de M. I. Philipp)'. See Concert Programme, Paris 21st, 22nd and 23rd of November 1932, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Kyriakou was the only winner of the contest from the Piano Classes that took part to the concert, 'American Students Atelier Réunions, 65, Quai d'Orsay, rue Jean Nicot, sponsored by the American Church of Paris'. Concert Programme, Paris, Sunday 8th of January, 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/11. Announcement of the concert with photograph and a little curriculum vitae of Rena Kyriakou, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Paris, Saturday, 7th January, 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/71. 'Student Group hears Mlle Rena Kyriakou', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Paris, Tuesday, 10th January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/71

79 Foyer International des Etudiantes, 93 boul. St. Michel, Fête Hellénique, organisée par les étudiantes Hellènes – membres du foyer international'. Concert Programme, Saturday, 10th of March 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/13.

80 Students' Atelier Réunion, 65, Quai d'Orsay, rue Jean Nicot, sponsored by the American Church in Paris, Director Clayton Williams. Concert programme, Paris, Sunday, 1st of April 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/14.

81 Grands Concerts Symphoniques du journal *Le Journal*, 100, Rue de Richelieu, sous la direction artistique de M. André Fijan: Concert Programme, Sunday, 15th of April, 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/15, and Richard Langham Smith, Henri Tomasi, *Grove Music Online*.

82 Concert Programme, Paris, Tuesday, 24th of January, 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/12. 'On the margins of life', Saturday, 28th of January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/72. 'Rena Kyriakou performs the Piano *Concerto in a minor* of Schumann under the direction of Henri Rabaud': Frank Choisy, 'Musical Genius – Miss Rena Kyriakou', *O Typos*, Monday, 14th of January 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/80. 'Les cours, les ambassades, le monde et la ville. Dans les Ambassades', *Figaro* 108/59, 28th February 1933, 2. Valfleury, 'Les cours, les ambassades, le monde et la ville – Dans les Ambassades', *Figaro* 108/61, 2nd March 1933, 2. Saimpré, 'Les échos de partout dans le monde - Ambassades', *Journal des débats* 61/145, 3rd March 1933, 2. The performance of Rena Kyriakou at the Greek Embassy in Paris did not exist in Rena's Kyriakou archives and appeared after my research at the National Library of France: Valfleury, 'Les cours, les ambassades, le monde et la ville – Dans les Ambassades', *Figaro* 108/59, Tuesday, 28th of February 1933, p. 2. Valfleury, 'Les cours, les ambassades, le monde et la ville – Dans les Ambassades', *Figaro* 108/61, Thursday, 2nd of March 1933, p. 2. Saimpré, 'Les échos de partout – Dans le monde - Ambassades', *Journal des débats* 61/145, Thursday 3rd of March 1933, p. 2. The performance of Rena Kyriakou of 4/4/1933 did not exist in Rena Kyriakou's Archives and appeared after my research to the National Library of France: Valfleury, 'Les Cours, les Ambassades, le Monde et la Ville – Cercles', *Figaro* 108/96, Thursday, 6th of April, 1933, p. 2. Alexandra Lalaouni, 'Music and artistic life – The female composer Sotiria Iatridou – Her operetta *My Maitresse* which is elevated to Athinaion – The concerts of the week', *Vradini*, 23rd of May 1933, p. 2. 'Soirée artistique du 10 mai', *La cité universitaire*, 15 May 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/74. 'Soirée artistique du 10 mai, *La cité universitaire*, Paris, 15th of May, 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/74. Announcements of a concert, 'Notre concert symphonique de dimanche prochain', *Le journal*, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/15, and André Fijan, 'Notre concert symphonique de dimanche dernier', *Le journal*, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/15. Unknown, 'A Greek Glory – Rena Kyriakou', Eleftheri Skepsi, Heraklion, 3rd of April, 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/77. H., article/clipping, *Estia*, 26th of April 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/78.

83 *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/71. Announcement of a concert with a photo and curriculum vitae of Rena Kyriakou, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Paris, Saturday 7th of January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/7. 'Student group hears Mlle Rena Kyriakou', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 10 January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/71. 'Student group hears Mlle Rena Kyriakou', *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Paris, 10th of January 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/71].

84 'A Greek Glory – Rena Kyriakou', *Eleftheri Skepsi*, Heraklion, 3rd of April, 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/77].

85 Letter from Henri Büsser to Dimitrios Kyriakos, Paris, 8th of June, 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/16, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/75.

86 Letter from Hélène Venizelou to Dimitrios Kyriakos, 22 Rue Beaujon, Paris VIII^{ème}, 17th of June 1933, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/25.

87 Letter from Henri Rabaud, Le Directeur du Conservatoire Nationale de Musique et de Déclamation, Membre de l'Institut to Mr Nikolaos Politis, Ministre de Gréce à Paris, Légation de Grèce, 17, rue Auguste Vacquerie, Paris, 5th of January 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. Frank Choisy, 'Music Genius – Miss Rena Kyriakou', *O Typos*, Monday, 14th of January 1935, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 1/80.

88 Letter of Stylianos Seferiadis to Nikolaos Politis, without date, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/18. Also see verbal testimony of Pavlos Kalligas, Kolonaki, Friday the 12th of July 2013.

89 Letter from Gabriel Pierné's secretary to Rena Kyriakou, 8 rue de Tournon VI, Paris, 10th of March, 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/3.

90 Letter from Henri Büsser, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, Chef d'Orchestre à l'Opéra, Professeur de composition musicale au Conservatoire de Paris, and Greek Rector of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Association des anciens élèves du Conservatoire National de Musique & de Déclamation de Paris, 2 bis, rue du Conservatoire, Paris, the 25th of August 1934, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 6/17.

91 Letter from Professors of Odeion Athinon to Minister of Education of Greece, Athens, 13th of May, 1936, Archive of Rena Kyriakou.

92 Written testimony of Nelly Kyriakou – *Kalliga*.

93 Christina Kl. Giannelou, the letters of recommendation for the renewal of the scholarship in the composition, Doctoral Thesis: Rena Kyriakou. Her Compositions: Historical Research and Thematic Catalogue of Works, December 2014, Athens, Department of Music Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, pp. 54-55.

94 Christina Kl. Giannelou, 'Rena Kyriakou en France', Tribute to Rena Kyriakou, event management: Christina Giannelou, Music Library of Lilian Voudouri, November 3rd 2017, Athens, p. 4.

95 Christina Kl. Giannelou, *Op. Cit.*

96 *Ibidem* 'Chapter 3 – Return to Greece', p. 56.

97 Unknown, 'Miss Rena Kyriakou', Heraklion, 31st of January 1937, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/24. 'It was announced by telegram from Belgrade, that the Greek artist Rena Kyriakou was honored to be invited to the palace and to attend a dinner after which gave examples of her extraordinary genius performed in front of the royal couple on the piano with composition of her own and from other composers, provoked the most enthusiastic congratulations from her listeners. The Regent personally awarded her the Order of Saint Sava. 'From Morning to Morning – Miss Rena Kyriakou', Proia FB/1284, Tuesday 26th of January 1937, p. 2. Kostas Parashos, 'The musical movement – Because of a concert', I Proi, Friday 17th of December 1943, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 2/44]. Concert Program, Wigmore Hall, Friday 27th of September 1946, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 4/41.

98 *Ibidem*, 'Chapter 3 – Return to Greece', p. 56.

99 *Ibidem*, 'Chapter 3 – Return to Greece', p. 57.

100 *Ibidem*, 'Chapter 3 – Return to Greece', p. 57.

101 Christina Kl. Giannelou, 'Kyriakou, Rena', Hellenic Music Center, internet source: https://hellenicmusiccentre.com/index.php?id_category=27&controller=category&id_lang=1, date of access.

102 Pavlos Kalligas, Oral Testimony, Kolonaki 13th of July 2013.

103 Christina Kl. Giannelou, *Op. Cit.*

104 Christina Kl. Giannelou, 'The Recording of Padre Antonio Soler's Sonatas', Doctoral Thesis: Rena Kyriakou. Her Compositions: Historical Research and Thematic Catalogue of Works, December 2014, Athens, Department of Music Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, p. 133.

105 'Soler: Sonatas, Rena Kyriakou-Piano', Vox Productions, Inc, New York, Winter of 1957, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 17/2. See also: 'Soler Sonatas (Complete)', PL 10.400'. I.M.K. – A.P.K. 8/46.

106 Christina Kl. Giannelou, 'Sub-chapter 5.7. The first Recordings of Works by Mendelssohn and Chopin (1959)', Doctoral Thesis: Rena Kyriakou. Her Compositions: Historical Research and Thematic Catalogue of Works, December 2014, Athens, Department of Music Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, p. 138.

107 *Ibidem*, '5.9 The edition of full work of Emmanuel Chabrier (1960)', p. 142.

108 Howard Klein, 'Chabrier's Pianistic Wit', *New York Times*, 29th of May 1960, I.M.K. – A.P.K. 8/21, 8/22 and 8/23.

109 Rena Kyriakou's Archive.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW AND COMPARATIVE STUDY: *Musical-Poetical Structural Analysis of Greek Folk-Songs*

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Abstract

The first attempts at transcribing Greek folk-songs (*demotiká*) began in the nineteenth century. Systematic studies and transcriptions of songs with European and Byzantine notation date from the twentieth century. From the first decades of the twentieth century onward, the foundations for the comprehensive study of folk-song were set. Then, the musical-poetical structure and relation between the melodic elements and the text, the verse metrics and the manner of singing have been analysed. After all, there are various parameters involved in folk-song structural analysis, such as the relationship between content and form, as well as the relation with the structural musical elements of the songs.

This study is an attempt at capturing, the transcription methods of folk-songs used by Greek and foreign researchers throughout the course of history. What follows is a presentation of the most important versions of the twentieth century, which, on the one hand, analyse the musical-poetical structure and, on the other, introduce new information on the way songs were transcribed.

I. Introduction

The period between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century was the beginning of a new historical era in Europe. The French Enlightenment marked the fall of empires and the creation of new nation-states. Processes were already being carried out in Southeastern Europe to create the conditions which would allow for the formation of nation-states within the Ottoman Empire. The failure of the first revolutions was followed by the establishment of the first nation-

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state, the Hellenic state, within the Empire. At the end of the century, the collapsing Ottoman Empire was followed by a series of new states. During a period of constant conflicts and turbulence, each state claimed for itself a maximum territory under its sovereignty. The final establishment of the borders and the majority of the territory taken by the new states was carried out after the end of World War II.

The favourable conditions set for the creation of new nation-states in the Balkans required the formation of a national identity, a national narrative among people of the same nation on which the grouping and homogenisation of the population would be based. In this context, the recording of the folk culture would play an important role. Since the late eighteenth century, a constant effort to create a Hellenic national identity had already begun both in the metropolitan areas of Greece and, even more so, in the regions outlying the empire, such as the areas along the Danube.

In the early nineteenth century, a series of more systematic attempts to study and notate the elements of the folk culture such as myths, tales, doctrines and rituals began. Greek folk-songs transcription took a prominent role. These transcriptions were carried out either by Greek scholars or by European researchers interested in the Greek musical traditions. In these first studies, which come either from Greek or from European scholars, the narrative remained common: the correlation of the elements of tradition as a continuation of the Byzantine Empire and the direct connection and correlation of the modern folk culture compared to the practice in Greek Antiquity.

This article refers briefly to the earliest transcriptions of poetic texts made by European and then by Greek scholars and teachers through bibliographic references. In addition, it presents first attempts made of Greek folk-song transcriptions. Furthermore, it features symbols, methods of transcription and their development as a consequence of the scientific phase of the study and the transcription of Greek folk-songs, following the early twentieth century.

This is followed by the contribution of certain studies for the formulation of the relations between the text, the melodic phrases and the *tsakismata*, as well as the comparative study of various ways of analysing the musical-poetical structure.

II. The earliest transcriptions

a. Poetical text of the nineteenth century

The majority of the first transcriptions are collections of folk-songs, some with only the text of the songs. Starting from the early nineteenth century, there are also very important poetry collections which are mentioned later. In 1814, Werner von Haxthausen completed the collection of poetic folk-songs texts which are hosted in Vienna.

This collection was published during the last quarter of 1935 under the title of *Neugriechische Volkslieder gesammelt von Werner von Haxthausen*². It was followed by Fauriel's large collection in two volumes: *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, (1824-1825) which also include poetical texts with commentaries³. In 1860, Passow⁴ published *Τραγούδια ρωμαίικα*, or *Carmina popularia Graecia recentioris* in Leipzig, and sixteen years later, Bourgault-Ducoudray⁵ published his *Trente Mélodies Populaires de la Grèce et d'Orient*.

In 1879, Wilhelm Wagner published the bilingual version of *Αλφάβητος της αγάπης*, or *Das ABC der Liebe: eine Sammlung Rhodischer Lieblieder* which includes poetical texts of Greek folk songs with their translation in German⁶.

During the following decade, Lagarde published his *Neugriechisches aus klein Asien*⁷. Two years later, in 1888, the enhanced version of *Greek folk songs from the Ottoman Provinces of Northern Hellas, Literal and Metrical Translations, Classified, Revised and Edited with Essays on the Survival of Paganism, and the Science of Folklore*⁸ was published.

The first Greek collections of folk songs included Manousos's⁹ collection: *Τραγούδια εθνικά*, or *National songs*, as well as Zampelios's¹⁰ collection *Άσματα δημοτικά της Ελλάδος* or *Greek folk-songs*, in 1850 and 1852. Both were published in Corfu. In 1859, Iatridis published *Συλλογή δημοτικών ασμάτων. Παλαιών και νέων. Μετά διαφόρων εικονογραφιών* or *Collection of old and new folk-songs*, including several illustrations¹¹. Over the following decades and until the late nineteenth century, Chasiotis, Mavrofrydis, Aravantinos, Farasopoulos and Gousias added to the collection of folk-song texts¹².

At the turn of the twentieth century, there were numerous poetry collections published about particular regions or about Greece in general. The introduction of the official science of Folklore by Nikolaos Politis would be a stepping stone for further collections of folk-songs. From this period onward, the study of folk-songs from a philological and historical point of view became systematic and lasted for several decades. During the twentieth century and the first two decades of the twenty-first century, some of the main representatives for these studies were Nikolaos Politis, Kyriakidis, Spatalas, Romaios, Megas, Sifakis, Saunier, Kontaxis and Kapsomenos¹³.

b. Musical transcription

The systematic study of folk-songs began in the early twentieth century. During the last quarter of the century and later, there is evidence of some scientific methodology. However, it was the previous centuries which saw the first attempts at music transcription. In 1972, Stathis discovered a manuscript from Mount Athos dating from 1562 which is ascribed to monk Leontios. A folk-song written in Byzantine notation was written in the manuscript¹⁴. During the first half of the seventeenth century, thirteen folk-songs were discovered by Spyros Lampros¹⁵ and in 1880 four more were discovered by Stathis from 1970 onward, while, during the late seventeenth century, monk Kyprianos from Mount Athos transcribed several carols¹⁶. In 1815-1820, Kantouniaris produced a few songs also written in Byzantine notation¹⁷. Between 1750 and 1830, scattered transcriptions of folk-songs written in Western notation were found. At the end of the century, there had been an increasing number of attempts, particularly, in 1876, by Bourgault-Ducoudray who produced the first musical collection including thirty melodies, written in Western notation¹⁸. Four years later, Antonis Sigalas transcribed fifty-nine folk-songs in Byzantine notation using the Chrisanthine system¹⁹. In the same year, Epaminondas Stamatiadis produced forty-five songs²⁰. In 1883, Periklis Matsas²¹ was the first to publish, in Greek, a collection of folk-songs written in Western notation. At the end of the nineteenth century, Hubert Pernot made a series of recordings in Chios; it is among the first ones made in Greece. The result of this effort was the transcription of melodies in Western notation by Paul de Flem, in 1903²². During the first decades of the 20th century and later, a number of folk-songs publications appeared,

transcribed in musical notation, featuring in music magazines of that time and in monographs²³.

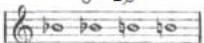
In this essay, I shall focus on studies which were used as a benchmarks, and played a crucial role in the development of the musical-poetical structure of Greek folk-songs analysis.

III. The transcription of melody

a. Symbols

The first transcription with a comprehensive theoretical framework, was, it is thought, the first study of comparative musicology in Greece. It was undertaken by Samuel Baud-Bovy²⁴. In the summers of 1930, 1931 and 1933, he made field recordings for his thesis and published *Τραγούδια των Δωδεκανήσων*, or *Songs of the Dodecanese* in two volumes, in 1935 and in 1938, from the Music Folklore Archive, in which he presented a representative sample of songs from most of the islands.

About the musical transcription of the songs, he rejected the Byzantine notation because he considered that Byzantine modes, while similar to folk-songs, were not identical. For this reason, he chose Western notation which however, did not represent the pitches, since some of the notes were a little higher or a little lower than their natural status. For these pitches, Baud-Bovy used the sharps and flats of the Byzantine notation²⁵:



He placed the notes which were throat-sung between two vertical lines because typography did not allow for brackets.

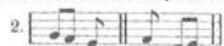
He used a horizontal dash to depict a portando:



For indefinite pitches, he used an 'x' instead of the pitch value, with the rhythmic value, and un-pitched values were only given their rhythmical value:



In several cases, there were transcriptions of many variations of the same song:



Furthermore, he used Béla Bartók's system for the variations in melody with a horizontal line above the staff, a number which refers to the variation and the double line separating several variations:



He also used Béla Bartók's system for the variations in melody with a horizontal line above the staff, a number which refers to the variation and the double line separating several variations:

In his study, Baud-Bovy gave symbols for transcription. He adopted the suggestions made by scholars who attended the international meetings held under the auspices of UNESCO, in Geneva and in Paris in 1949 and 1950 which were published in 1952. In the 1958 publication of his work, *Études sur la chanson cleftique*, he printed these symbols²⁶. These symbols are used to this day in musical transcriptions of folk-songs by many researchers²⁷.

b. Musical Modes

Baud-Bovy defined modes using the musical material which he collected and studied²⁸. A great number of songs contained the tetrachord RE-SOL to which the subtonic and a treble pitch 'A' is added, whereas when the melody reaches the note 'SI' flattened. The fixed notes of the mode are usually 'DO', 'RE' and 'SOL'.

The notes 'MI' and 'FA' are attracted by 'RE' and 'SOL' respectively:



Occasionally, 'MI' is natural and at other times it is flat. The 'MI flat' mode is considered as a *chroa* of the RE mode:



When MI is attracted by 'RE' and when 'FA' is attracted by 'SOL', it is referred to as Oriental chromaticism 'MI \flat -FA \sharp ' and it is considered a different *chroa* of 'RE mode' in which the natural and the chromatic tetrachord coexist:



When melodies exceed 'LA', 'SI' is flat 'RE-MI-FA-SOL-LA-SI \flat '. Baud-Bovy considered perhaps that the transcription of the mode as a 'LA mode' was better 'LA-SI-DO-RE-MI-FA':



However, 'SI \flat ' is often a simple auxiliary pitch which becomes natural again. According to the researcher, these three modes: 'RE', 'RE' with 'MI-flat' and 'RE chromatic' are found not only in the Dodecanese but throughout Greece. In addition, there is also the 'DO mode', in which 'RE' is attracted by 'MI' and 'FA' is drawn by 'SOL':



Moreover, Baud-Bovy presented the 'MI chromatic mode' without further explanations about the reason for its name:



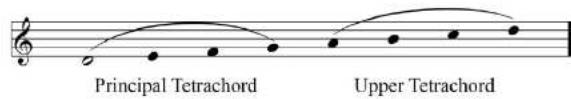
In 1968, Peristeris and Spyridakis published their monumental work *Greek Folk-Songs*, v. III, a publication of the Hellenic Folklore Research Center at the Academy of Athens²⁹. The introduction to their work had an extensive reference to the method used to transcribe the songs, the melodies and the lyrics. The method was implemented during the following decades by the publications of the Hellenic Folklore Research Center.

In his essay Peristeris presented the modes to which belonged the songs of the publication. It is an expansion of the modes published earlier by Baud-Bovy.

There, these modes resulted from the transcription of the material in the publication. The modes are the following³⁰:

A. Diatonic modes:

RE diatonic mode consisted of two tetrachords with an intermediate disjunctive tone:



and RE diatonic consisted of pentachords:



The 'LA diatonic mode' is considered similar to the 'RE mode', raised by a 5th. This is followed by four *chroai* of the diatonic re mode.

a. RE diatonic mode with *chroa* A, in which MI and SI are flat:



b. RE diatonic mode with *chroa* B, in which the fourth degree is flattened:



c. RE diatonic mode with *chroa* G, in which the fourth degree is sharpened:



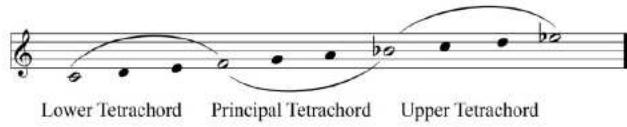
d. RE diatonic mode with *chroa* D, in which the fifth degree is flattened:



In addition, Peristeris, in concluding the issue of diatonic modes, presented the MI mode:



FA mode:



DO mode

In his text, Peristeris presented the possible relative attractions in this particular mode, presented in the songs of the collection:

B. *Chromatic modes:*

RE chromatic mode consisted of three pentachords:



RE chromatic mode consisted of two tetrachords with a disjunctive tone:



DO chromatic mode:



The similarities between the two modes are very clear. The switching between tonic and sub-tonic often creates confusion and doubts concerning the classification of songs in one mode or the another. In many cases, Peristeris classified songs in both modes, which he considered interchangeable. Furthermore, he presented the 'SOL chromatic' which, according to him, is seen in very few songs. It also bears many similarities with the chromatic 'RE mode' and creates confusion in the classification of songs:



Apart from these modes, he also presented the 'DO-based' anhemitonic pentatonic modes:



and the 'RE-based' anhemitonic pentatonic mode, to which often intervene notes which form semitones, yet Peristeris considers them to be auxiliary:



According to Peristeris, in many cases we observe a rotation between diatonic and chromatic modes which often occurs in folk-songs. In the modes, Peristeris mentions the correlations with the sounds of Byzantine music.

With regard to the function of the modes in Peloponnese folk-songs, Tsianis makes a distinction between two categories: the diatonic modes and the chromatic modes³¹. In the second category, he distinguishes two different types³². He noted the basic, the sub-tonic and the upper tetrachord. In his presentation of the modes, Tsianis outlined the characteristic notes: in this context, he used the symbol 'T' to mark the tonic note, the symbol 'HT' to mark the sub-tonic note and the symbol 'Hyp' to mark the super-tonic note, which has a different relation in each diatonic or chromatic mode.

Lolis transcribed the polyphonic folk-songs of Epirus³³. According to his many years of research, in this region we may find mostly anhemitonic pentatonic scales. His research shows that the predominant scales in homophonic, biphonic and polyphonic songs, in which there is no use of *isokrates*, are tritonic, tetratonic and anhemitonic scales. In songs with three or four voices there are complete pentatonic scales.

In order to determine the modes, Chapsoulas uses Hornbostel and Herzog's methods³⁴. According to that viewpoint, modes are determined by the following three parameters: the ambitus transcription, the establishment of the hierarchical relations among notes depending on the frequency of their appearance, and the establishment of the tonic. Moreover, the tonic is established according to its maximum frequency of appearance, its maximum duration and its final position on patterns or on the melody as a whole.

IV. Text, melodic phrases and tsakismata

The musical-poetical structure of folk-songs is about the interaction and the relation created between the poetical text and the melody. In this work, I shall present several studies which deal with the method used to transcribe the text of the

songs, the *tsakismata* and their relation with the melody, the way of transcribing the melodic phrases and the verse metrics³⁵.

Baud-Bovy does not present the *tsakismata* in the text of the song he cites in the end, after the transcription in Western notation³⁶. However, he introduces them in the musical text in italics. Also, he places one-syllable additions in brackets. Under the musical text he marks the first letter of each verse with a capital letter.

In his following study, which concerns the transcription of the text with the *tsakismata*, he uses instrumental verses in italics, while the *tsakismata* are written horizontally³⁷. In the text of the song which accompanies the transcription, the *tsakismata* are underlined and strophes are numbered in each staff. In order to count the syllables of the verse, Baud-Bovy used numbering.

The numbering is based on the metrics of the verse, not the syllables of the words³⁸.

In the context of melody transcription, Peristeris presented the tonic, the arrangement of the notes and the range of the melody at the end of each song³⁹. Strophes are marked with numbers inside squares. The melodic phrases are marked with capital letters (A, B, G, D). In the text accompanying the melody, the *tsakismata* are written between dashes. In the text following the transcription in Western notation, they are written in italics.

In his article in the magazine *Laographia* (1972), Themelis introduced additional information and leaves his own mark on the musical-poetical structural transcription of folk-songs⁴⁰. As far as the text is concerned, Themelis used capital letters to mark the instrumental verses and he uses capital letters with numbers (A1, A2 etc.) for each hemistich. He used lower case letters with numbers (α1, α2 etc.) for the *tsakismata* which are inserted between hemistiches. Themelis used capital letters (A, B) to mark the melodic phrases.

He considered that the melodic phrase B should refer to the instrumental hemistich text. He mentioned that, in cases where the same phrase (B) appeared sooner for the first time following the preceding *tsakisma*, it announced what followed and for that reason he marked them with lower case letters b1, b2.

From the above, and in a relevant example he cited, the following diagram emerges:

Text Melody

A1 A

a1 b1

a2 b2

A2 B

The numbered capital letters A1, A2 correspond to the hemistiches and a1, a2 correspond to the *tsakismata*. With regard to the melody, the melodic phrases of pure hemistiches are transcribed with the capital letters A, B, while the melodic phrases of *tsakismata*, which have preceded and are identical to B, are transcribed with the lower case letters b1, b2.

Themelis also made special references to the types of *tsakismata*, *i.e.* the repetitions, the additions and the insertions of whole hemistiches, although in this study, as far as symbols are concerned, he does not mention the way in which the distinction are made.

In his publication, Kaimakis codified more clearly the way of analysing the musical-poetical structure, as he brings in new elements⁴¹. These contribute to a more thorough study of the melody, the text and the relation between them. He used capital letters to mark the verses (A, B etc.) and when these letters were accompanied by numbers they indicated a hemistich (A1, A2, B1 and so on). Capital letters which had an accent indicated verses or hemistiches with *tsakismata* (A' or A1' etc.).

Kaimakis divided *tsakismata* into additions and repetitions, and this separation is reflected in the transcription of the text. Wherever there is an addition in the text, he transcribed it in brackets (...), while repetitions are transcribed in square brackets []. In many folk-songs, additions and repetitions may be found in the same verse or hemistich. In this case *tsakismata* found in the same verse or hemistich are indicated in brackets as well as in square brackets. In all the rest of relative studies published ever since, the *tsakismata* may be transcribed, but their type is not determined.

Kaimakis's method gives the type of *tsakisma* for each case. As pointed out above, in order to count the syllables of the verse, Baud-Bovy used numbers. Additionally, Kaimakis indicated the numbers of the *tsakismata* corresponding to the method of the syllable transcription: he used numbers with accents within brackets for the

additions, while he repeated the numbers of the syllables in square brackets to indicate the repetitions.

In order to transcribe and study the melody, he used the fully detailed transcription in European notation. Melodic phrases were indicated with lower case letters. Lower case letters a, b corresponded to the poetic text A, B, while a1, a2, b1, b2 corresponded to the hemistiches A1, A2, B1, B2. Lower case letters with an accent a' or a1' etc. corresponded to melodic phrases which varied slightly compared to the correspondent initial ones. When melodic phrases were completed and then repeated, he used the same letters as the first time they appeared. At the end of the hemistich the ending of the melodic phrase is marked.

From the above it is clear that there is an additional important difference between Kaimakis and Themelis with regard to the transcription of melodic phrases: Kaimakis transcribed each new melodic phrase as it was, regardless of whether it accompanied an instrumental text or a *tsakisma*.

Tsianis has been one of the most important researchers of Greek folk-songs for many decades⁴². He considered that a *tsakisma* could only be an addition; not a repetition⁴³. He placed the *tsakismata* within square brackets and in italics both in the text accompanying the notation and the text which followed the notation.

In his work '*Αιγαίνης μουσική περιήγησις*', or *A Musical Tour of Aegina*, Dragoumis presented numerous songs from Aegina as well as their various versions⁴⁴. In this volume, there are 213 songs in total, as well as their transcription in European notation. In his research, he presented the types of verses and strophes, as well as the arrangement of the verses and the hemistiches in the strophe. While studying the material of the publication, two types of tetrametric strophes have emerged: bilateral strophes and the type of three-hemistich strophe. In the basic types of strophes, Dragoumis included subcategories in which he detailed the structural function of the verse and his relation with the *tsakismata*. Consequently, during the presentation of these songs, he placed the *tsakismata* in italics both in the musical text and in the text that followed.

Dragoumis's publication is of particular interest as it was among the first ones to present structural types of the melodic phrases of songs, as well as the percentage of their occurrence in the songs he studied. Dragoumis marked melodic phrases with capital letters, while he expressed with capital letters bearing accents the slightly

different phrases or the recurring ones that may be contracted or expanded. Apart from the capital letters bearing accents which corresponded to the repetitions, in order to analyse the melodic phrases, he also used the symbol ‘Bo’, which marked the point of the phrase’s repetition though with an incomplete ending, as well as the asterisk symbol ‘B*’ in order to express a melodic phrase which, on the one hand, is identical to the previous one and, on the other hand, ‘it begins with the last notes of the previous one in a reversed position⁴⁵’.

In his 2002 publication, Chapsoulas also used the European notation and transcribed in absolute pitch⁴⁶. Furthermore, he used Peristeris’s method as well as the one included in the publications of the Hellenic Folklore Research Center in order to transcribe the *tsakismata* which he wrote in italics, while he did not separate the additions from the repetitions. The songs from Xeropotamos, which he transcribed, are accompanied by instruments. In his transcription of the songs there is vertical consonance. Another one of his characteristics is the use of descriptive transcription.

As far as the transcription of the verse is concerned, Lolis did not separate the *tsakismata* from the poetical text and he wrote down the whole text of the song using direct transcription without any differentiation⁴⁷.

Concerning the verse metrics, Lolis observed that various meters were met, such as the decahexasyllable, the hentecasyllable, the dodecasyllable and the decapentasyllable verses. He determined that the presence of refrains was a common phenomenon in the region. Also, he considered the complexity of the rhythmic patterns in the cadences and the existence of many ornamental elements such as the issues arising from the transcription of folk-songs in the area. However, the most important issue concerned the aesthetic performance.

According to Lolis, notation was not able to render the special style and interpretation of the song. Regarding the arrangement of the voices, in homophonic songs, Lolis placed the *partis* on the first staff and the group that accompanies him on the second⁴⁸. In biphonic songs, the *partis* is transcribed on the first staff and on the second one, the *isokrates*. In polyphonic songs, which do not appear to have *isokratima*, the *partis* is transcribed on the first staff, the *gyristis* is transcribed on the second one and on the third one, the group which repeats the melody of the *partis*.

The transcriptions of the songs in European notation are carried out in absolute pitch, while it is noted that the accidentals may in no case be a 'key signature', as the term is used in Western notation.

In the studies *O κύκλος τραγουδιών Της Άρτας το γερύρι. Θεματικός και συστηματικός κατάλογος. Καταγραφές και παραλλαγές*, or *The song Cycles, The bridge of Arta: Thematic and systematic catalogue: Collections and variations*⁴⁹ and '*Το δημοτικό τραγούδι στις κοινότητες των Τζουμέρκων*' or *Folk Songs in the Communities of Tzoumerka*⁵⁰, I present methods of analysing the intonation of the text, grammatical and metric, and the melody, rhythmic, melodic and dynamic. These two studies analyze the function of the melodic intonation in hundreds of songs, which are presented with a particular leap upwards or with an ascending melody. They have also analyzed the starting and the ending degrees as well as the syllables on which they occur. Moreover, they examine the intonation of the meter both in the instrumental text and on the new syllabic units that have occurred due to the interventions of the *tsakis mata*. Additionally, a comparative study is conducted on the intonations of each song, while in the cases where intonations do not coincide, exaggerations are created.

V. Conclusions

The present essay attempted to present information concerning the analysis of the musical-poetical structure of Greek folk-songs. It included a review of the bibliography concerning the transcription of the verses. In addition, it presented the main studies from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward. It also demonstrated that, until the beginning of the twentieth century, as far as the transcription is concerned, folk-songs are treated mainly as poetic text.

Concerning musical transcription and the interactive relation between the melody and the verse, it was found that the first relevant attempts had already started to develop in Byzantine notation, mainly during the seventeenth century.

Since the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, attempts of transcribing in Western notation by both European and the first Greek scholars intensified. From the fourth decade of the twentieth century, there is a clear systematisation of the way music was transcribed, which is evolving during the following decades. In this context, we investigated the modes that occurred, through the researchers of numerous folk songs.

The relation between text and melody, the musical-poetical structure, has also been of interest to researchers since the early twentieth century.

Multilateral studies were formulated from different perspectives and using various methods, such as the philological, the folklore and later the musicological method.

In the present study, I have attempted to present the symbols of the musical/poetical structural analysis. It is understood that there is no unanimity among scholars in the various attempts at systematising and transcribing the lyrics, the melodic phrases, the *tsakismata* and the relation between them. Researchers use different symbols to analyse the musical-poetical structure, while in many cases the same symbols acquire different content from one study to the other. The text presents these different approaches through a comparative approach.

END NOTES

1 Lampros Efthymiou focuses theoretically and practically on Balkan vocal music traditions, as well as the relation developed between teaching and learning. He is most interested in the study of the interaction between ethnomusicology and the science of music education.

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19 Sigalas, Philadelfeos, 1880.

20 Peristeris and Spyridakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, 1968.

21 Matsas, Comendinger, 1880.

22 Pernot, Maisonneuve, 1903.

23 Some of the first most important musical collections of folk songs which include musical notation: [Pachtikos, Sakellariou, 1905; Psachos, Sfaira, 1910, Sfaira, 1923 and Merlie, Syllogos pros diadosin ofelimon vilion, 1931, Folk music archive, 1935. For the music magazines of the early 20th century, see the publication of Kaiti Romanou, Koutoura, 1996.

24 Baud-Bovy, Music Folklore Archive, 1935.

25 For the symbols used by Baud-Bovy in order to express elements of folk songs which cannot be transcribed with the typical European notation, see Baud-Bovy, Music Folklore Archive, 1935.

26 Baud-Bovy, Music Folklore Archive, 1938.

27 The researchers were Peristeris and Spyridakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, 1968; Chapsoulas, Papagrigoriou - Nakas, 2002; Tsianis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010; Kaimakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010; Dragoumis, The Hellenic Parliament Foundation for parliamentarism and democracy, 2008; Lolis, Self-published, 2006, and Efthymiou, Doctoral Thesis, A.U.Th, 2014, Isnafi, 2018.

28 For their modes and arrangements, see Baud-Bovy, 1935. This essay attempts at transcribing the modes given by Baud-Bovy on the staff, since in his version the modes are presented mostly verbally.

29 Peristeris and Spyridakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, 1968.

30 For the modes, their function and their relation with the sounds of Byzantine music, see Peristeris and Spyridakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, 1968. The present essay attempts a codification of the modes and their brief presentation in English literature.

31 Tsianis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010.

32 Tsianis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010, p. 63.

33 Lolis, self-published, 2006.

34 Chapsoulas, Papagrigoriou - Nakas, 2002, p. 200.

35 At this point, it is necessary to clarify the terminology used in this research to describe the words, phrases, syllables that intervene in the instrumental text of the folk songs, as various terms have been formulated for the same phenomenon with the predominant ones being 'tsakisma' and 'gyrisma' (Themelis, Laographia 28, 78). According to Kaimakis: By the term 'tsakisma' (plural 'tsakismata') we refer to those additions and repetitions of verses,

hemistiches, words and syllables which are interpolated into the verses of the song and interrupt its flow. As to the music, the *tsakísmata* participate in the formation of the verse or of the hemistich melodic phrases, whether at the beginning, middle, or end. *Tsakísmata* function either as initial structural elements which propel the beginning of a melodic phrase, or as central or final elements. By the term 'addition' we mean those interpolations of the text which are foreign to the 'pure' verse. 'Repetition' signifies the reiteration of verses, hemistiches, words or syllables of the 'pure' text, Kaimakis and Kokkalas, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010, pp. 398-399. In this essay Kaimakis's approach is adopted.

- 36 Baud-Bovy, Music Folklore Archive, 1935, Music Folklore Archive, 1938, pp. 5 *et seq.*
- 37 Baud-Bovy, Collection de l' institut Français d' Athènes, 1958, p. 31.
- 38 Baud-Bovy, Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2005, p.2.
- 39 Peristeris and Spyridakis, Hellenic Folklore Research Centre, 1968, Introduction.
- 40 Themelis, Laographia 28, 1972, pp. 66-80.
- 41 Kaimakis and Kokkalas, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010, pp. 383-413.
- 42 Tsianis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010, pp. 49-63.
- 43 In his work 'Δημοτικά τραγούδια από το Βαλτέτσι Αρκαδία' (Folk songs from Valtetsi, Arkadia) he specifically mentions: 'Tsakísmata' are the words that interrupt the normal flow of the verses in specific points on the melodic line and they usually change the poetic meter and the intonation, as well as the melody. These are typical exclamatory words such as: *ωρέ, αχ, δύντε, καλέ, μαρέ, αράν, λέει* etc. Though tsakísmata are grammatically independent words, they are essential elements of the structure in most Greek folk verses. Tsakísmata also serve the expression [...]. Tsianis, Hellenic Folklore Research Center, 2010, p. 51.
- 44 Dragoumis, The Hellenic Parliament Foundation for parliamentarism and democracy, 2008, pp. 12-28.
- 45 Dragoumis, The Hellenic Parliament Foundation for parliamentarism and democracy, 2008, p. 16.
- 46 Chapsoulas, Papagrigoriou - Nakas, 2002.
- 47 Lolis, self-published, 2006.
- 48 For the function of the voices in polyphonic songs from Epirus and their various names, see Baud-Bovy, Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2005, p.p. 49-51 and Lolis, self-published, 2006.
- 49 Efthymiou, Doctoral Thesis, A.U.Th., 2014.
- 50 Efthymiou, Isnafi, 2018.

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KATY ROMANOU S'EXPRIME:
L'oeuvre pour Piano de Nikos Skalkottas
à Travers une Co-Direction de Thèse de Doctorat

*By: Lorenda RAMOU**

J'étais habituée à voir la silhouette mince et élégante de Katy Romanou dans les salles de concert à Athènes et de l'entendre lors des différentes rencontres musicologiques en Grèce. Nous échangions alors quelques propos chaleureux et amicaux, mais nous n'avions pas de relations personnelles hors de ces circonstances. Nous sommes devenues plus proches à partir de 2015, quand elle a accepté de faire partie des professeurs qui supervisaient mon travail de thèse de doctorat sur les œuvres pour piano de Nikos Skalkottas¹; elle a écrit un des deux pré-rapports de soutenance et elle fait partie du jury de soutenance.

En réfléchissant à la meilleure façon de lui rendre hommage, je suis revenue sur nos échanges à propos de Skalkottas, ainsi que sur son texte du pré-rapport et son intervention lors de la soutenance, telle qu'elle a été transcrise sur le rapport final. À travers ces textes se dégage une certaine vision sur l'œuvre de Skalkottas, ainsi que son savoir-faire en direction d'un travail universitaire, que j'ai voulu partager avec les lecteurs de cet hommage. J'ai exclu les références sur des parties précises de mon travail de thèse et les échanges qui en découlaient, mais j'ai conservé celles qui, à mon sens, témoignaient aussi d'une vision de Katy sur le sujet. Quand elle s'exprime très positivement sur ce qu'elle a lu, je demande aux lecteurs de bien vouloir pardonner ce qui peut ressembler à une auto-référence. Pendant toute la durée de ce travail, de 2015 à 2017, Katy n'arrivait pas avec des réponses toutes faites; elle a su m'encourager dans des directions qui me semblaient, au premier abord, peu prometteuses et qui se sont par la suite avérées fructueuses – comme mes essais assez expérimentaux pour établir une méthodologie d'analyses graphiques. Elle a également mis à ma

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disposition des sources primaires qui ont beaucoup contribué aux réponses que je cherchais quant à la relation de Skalkottas avec l'interprétation pianistique de son époque.

Katy a accepté avec joie de superviser mon travail. Elle a partagé mon intention de l'organiser par aires d'appartenance stylistique des œuvres, plutôt que par ordre chronologique ou par genre. Dans la production pianistique de Skalkottas, les influences de la musique traditionnelle grecque, des formes baroques, du jazz de son temps et de la *Neue Musik* se côtoient au sein de la même pièce, avec une telle fréquence, que cela devient une marque importante de sa *signature* compositionnelle. À mon premier envoi de textes sur les influences de la musique de film et du jazz, Katy a répondu:

Les deux chapitres que tu m'as envoyés m'ont donné une très grande satisfaction. Ta position, que tu montres de façon très convaincante, en ce qui concerne la libération de Skalkottas des conventions autour des «catégories» de la musique et sa conception essentielle et prophétique autour de ce que c'est la «nouvelle musique» (parce qu'il s'agit des idées de la mondialisation), prouve des choses auxquelles je croyais, mais que je n'avais jamais étudiées. Ces idées sont les grands atouts de ta thèse. Bravo alors et avance sans anxiété².

Après un deuxième envoi de pièces influencées par le jazz dansant des années vingt, elle me suggère une source complémentaire sur Walter Goehr, camarade de Skalkottas dans la classe de Schoenberg:

Tu me persuades de plus en plus sur ce que tu as compris et que tu veux dire sur l'œuvre pour piano de Skalkottas. Je ne voudrais pas t'augmenter la charge de travail, mais tu pourrais pour te reposer écouter ce lien³ avec une discussion sur Walter Goehr⁴, dont le fils (Alexander Goehr⁵) dit que le travail qu'il a fait pour le cinéma (muet ou parlant), lui ont cultivé une grande habileté pour l'orchestration, une grande sensibilité aux couleurs et lui ont donné de l'expérience. Il parle aussi de sa grande familiarité avec les genres de la musique «légère». Note que grâce au livre de Gradewitz⁶, et aussi par d'autres sources, on connaît l'estime qu'avait Walter pour Skalkottas et combien il a diffusé son œuvre en tant que chef et éditeur⁷.

Dès que nous avons commencé à travailler ensemble, Katy a porté à ma connaissance tous les numéros du magazine *Moussikē Zoē*, publié à Athènes de 1930 à 1931, où Skalkottas écrivait des critiques de concerts en tant que correspondant à Berlin. Mis à part un seul de ces textes, abondamment cité par les musicologues grecs, où un Skalkottas furieux et ironique attaque en bloc la critique musicale d'Athènes⁸, le reste de ces articles fournit un bon aperçu de sa fréquentation du milieu des interprètes berlinois, et plus particulièrement des pianistes. Ainsi, j'ai pu avoir des preuves solides pour justifier mon hypothèse de travail: essayer de reconstituer le milieu des pianistes de la Neue Musik actifs à Berlin, l'esthétique de leur jeu et leur répertoire de prédilection, afin d'éclairer, à travers cette vision, l'interprétation des œuvres de Skalkottas⁹. Katy avait écrit l'un des deux pré-rapports avant ma soutenance. Voici un extrait de ce texte (écrit directement en français):

«Dans la quasi-totalité du XXe siècle, les chercheurs de l'œuvre de Skalkottas étaient principalement axés sur le maniement de la méthode avec douze sons. Ce fut une conséquence naturelle du fait que sa réputation a commencé à augmenter au sein de la diffusion de la musique d'avant-garde à Athènes, après la Seconde Guerre. C'est une des raisons pour lesquelles l'œuvre de piano de Skalkottas n'a suscité jusqu'ici que peu d'intérêt de la part des chercheurs – en contraste avec ses œuvres pour orchestre et musique de chambre, dont la plupart sont dodécaphoniques.

En raison d'un certain retard dans le développement de la musicologie en Grèce, des conditions de vie de Skalkottas, mais aussi des événements historiques et politiques qui ont déplacé la diffusion de la musique moderne d'avant-guerre dans la période de la Guerre Froide, la chercheuse n'avait que peu d'études à sa disposition.

La recherche de Ramou est donc, à part d'autres choses, une recherche fondamentale sur les œuvres pour piano de Skalkottas, lesquelles, comme elle observe à juste titre, dû à leur variété et leur portée, figurent comme les œuvres les plus importantes écrites pour piano par la main d'un compositeur grec de la première moitié du XXe siècle.

Selon la thèse, les œuvres pour piano de Skalkottas s'inscrivent dans la musique de piano de son époque, en particulier telle qu'elle se manifeste à Berlin au cours de son séjour.

Le texte montre à quel point le regard de Skalkottas sur l'art du piano vient de l'esthétique et des idées qui circulaient dans le milieu berlinois où il faisait sa formation comme compositeur dans les années 1924-1933.

La référence aux pianistes, que Skalkottas éventuellement connaissait ou rencontrait à Berlin, est utile, car elle permet de jeter un regard renouvelé aux textes du compositeur sur la musique de piano ; il devient plus clair que certaines idées dans les écrits de Skalkottas «circulaient» déjà à Berlin, le temps où il vivait dans cette ville.

La recherche historique et les travaux d'analyse montrent une certaine indépendance de Ramou par rapport aux recherches antérieures de l'œuvre de Skalkottas. Ce fait résulte de sa musicalité et de sa connaissance d'un large éventail du répertoire général du piano, qui lui permettent d'approfondir dans les œuvres pour piano de Skalkottas, et d'identifier les similitudes et les emprunts qui viennent difficilement à l'esprit de l'auditeur. Tel est le cas des 15 kleine Variationen et des 32 Variations en ut mineur de Beethoven.

L'indépendance et la rectitude du jugement de la chercheuse sont aussi présentes dans la conclusion très importante, par rapport à l'influence sur Skalkottas de la musique qui l'entourait tout au long de sa vie (à Chalkida, dans les quartiers d'Athènes, dans les cinémas et les scènes de Berlin) : Skalkottas n'évitait pas d'utiliser dans ses œuvres tout genre et toute «catégorie» de musique, ou même, comme Ramou montre, faire cohabiter dans une même pièce des éléments qui semblent incompatibles (comme le jazz et la musique folklorique grecque¹⁰)».

Pendant la soutenance, Katy a repris certains de ces propos, en les complétant avec une mise un contexte historique plus détaillée :

La musique de Skalkottas a commencé à être étudiée et appréciée à Athènes dans les années 1950 quand la musique d'avant-garde a été introduite et fort soutenue dans le cadre de l'antagonisme et de la propagande culturelle de la guerre froide qui a été particulièrement ressentie en Grèce, car ce pays était le seul pays occidental des Balkans.

La redécouverte de la musique de Skalkottas a été impulsée par Yannès Papaïōannou, musicologue amateur (ingénieur de profession), doté d'un talent et de connaissances incontestables, responsable de l'organisation du mouvement musical d'avant-garde à Athènes. Skalkottas a été présenté à Athènes en même temps que Xenakis, Logothetis, etc. comme un compositeur d'avant-garde. Papaïōannou a dirigé la fondation d'une Société des Amis de Skalkottas en 1961. Il a organisé un atelier de musique contemporaine – avec Günter Becker – au Goethe Institute d'Athènes en 1962 et a joué un rôle de premier plan dans la section grecque de la Société Internationale de Musique Contemporaine (1964) et de l'Association hellénique pour la musique contemporaine (1965). En 1966, Papaïōannou a lancé les Festivals grecs de musique contemporaine, soutenus financièrement par l'Organisation grecque du tourisme et par des institutions étrangères (Institut Goethe, Institut italien, Office culturel de l'Ambassade américaine et Fondation Ford).

Dans ses textes, ainsi que dans un catalogue des œuvres de Skalkottas, Papaïōannou a divisé son œuvre en atonale (y compris l'œuvre sérielle), qu'il appelle œuvre principale, et en œuvre tonale (ou modale). Il a promu la théorie selon laquelle Skalkottas a été contraint par l'atmosphère déprimante et conservatrice d'Athènes à abandonner son langage musical progressif et à revenir à la tonalité et à l'utilisation des chansons populaires grecques. Ses idées furent débattues seulement vers la fin du XXe siècle, après l'établissement tardif des études de musicologie dans les universités grecques, c'est-à-dire dans les années 1990.

Lors des questions posées aux candidats pendant la soutenance, Katy m'avait demandé si je voyais une direction politique dans l'œuvre de Skalkottas, question qui semblait la préoccuper en dehors du cadre de ma thèse – nous en avions déjà discuté avant la soutenance. J'ai mentionné ce qui est notable dans sa biographie par rapport à un potentiel positionnement politique: venant d'un milieu très modeste, il se montre très satisfait à propos de la création d'un syndicat de musiciens à Berlin¹¹, explique le coût élevé de la vie par les dépenses démesurées de la jeunesse dorée de la ville¹² et pendant l'Occupation se trouve emprisonné pour quelques mois dans le camp de

Haïdari, à l'ouest d'Athènes¹³. On ne pourrait pas dire que son œuvre est engagée, dans le sens d'un Eisler ou d'un Kurt Weill; la seule caractéristique qui pourrait être interprétée comme le reflet d'une position politique est l'inclusion des références provenant de tous les styles musicaux qui lui étaient connus, sans aucune distinction hiérarchique. Skalkottas considère les danses jazz de son temps comme un matériau équivalant aux danses qui constituent les suites baroques, en se démarquant très nettement de l'opinion de Schoenberg sur le sujet¹⁴; il se montre curieux envers toute musique de son environnement et l'emploie sans préjugé quant à sa provenance.

Nous sommes restées avec Katy encore deux jours à Paris après la soutenance pour profiter un peu de la ville. En souvenir de ces discussions, qui portaient sur tout, la musique, l'actualité et nos histoires personnelles, je partage une photo d'elle à la Villette qui doit avoir été prise le 21 janvier 2017 (cette photo est placée au verso de la couverture de ce volume). À la suite de notre rapprochement dû à ma recherche, Katy est devenue pour moi un mentor et une confidente et nous avons partagé des moments qui me sont précieux. Sa compétence scientifique allait de pair avec sa qualité de tirer le meilleur des personnes qui l'entouraient, de leur accorder sa confiance et de savourer les plaisirs de la vie entre bons amis. Je me demande si je l'ai assez remercié pour tout ce qu'elle m'a offert.

END NOTES

1 Ramopoulou (Ramou), Lorenda: *La musique pour piano solo de Nikos Skalkottas*, thèse de doctorat dirigée par Danièle Pistone et Alain Mabit, Université Paris-Sorbonne / Conservatoire national supérieur de musique et de danse de Paris, soutenue le 20 janvier 2017 (récital public le 19 janvier 2017).

2 «Γα δύο κεφάλαια που μού έστειλες μού έδωσαν μεγάλη ικανοποίηση. Η θέση σου, τηγ οποία δείχνεις με απόλυτα πειστικό τρόπο, περί της απέλευθέρωσης του Σκαλκώτα από συμβάσεις περί "κατηγοριών" μουσικής και περί της ουσιαστικής και προφητικής του σύλληψης περί του τί είναι "νέα μουσική" (γιατί πρόκειται περί ιδεών της globalisation) αποδεικνύουν πράγματα που πίστενα αλλά δεν είχα ποτέ κάτσει να ψάξω. Οι ιδέες σου στα δύο αυτά κεφάλαια είναι μεγάλα από της διατριβής σου. Μπράβο λοιπόν και προχώρησε χωρίς άγχος» (trad. de l'auteur), courriel du 2.7.2016.

3 Royal College of Music, *Singing a Song in a Foreign Land Oral History Project*, Alexander Goehr in conversation with Norbert Meyn, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Qpyp40Q1ng>, consulté le 31 mars 2021.

4 Walter Goehr (1903-1960), compositeur et chef d'orchestre allemand. Il a été élève de Schoenberg à l'Académie Prussienne des Arts de 1921 à 1924, camarade de classe et ami proche de Skalkottas. Il a contribué à la diffusion de son œuvre en tant qu'éditeur et chef. Biographie complète : http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/_resistance-and-exile/walter-goehr/, consulté le 31 mars 2021.

5 Alexander Goehr (né en 1932), compositeur et professeur émérite de l'Université de Cambridge. Biographie : <https://www.mus.cam.ac.uk/directory/alexander-goehr>, consulté le 31 mars 2021.

6 Gradewitz, Peter : *Arnold Schönberg und seine Meisterschüler* Berlin 1925-1933, Paul Zsolnay Verlag | Wien 1998|

7 «Όλο και περισσότερο με πείθεις για αυτά που έχεις καταλάβει και αυτά που θέλεις να πεις για το έργο για πιάνο του Σκαλκώτα. Δεν θέλω βέβαια να σου ανοίγω καινούργεις δουλειές, αλλά θα μπορούσες για ξεκούραση να ακούσεις σε αυτό το λινκ την συζήτηση περί του Walter Goehr περί του οποίου ο γιος του (Alexander Goehr) λέει πως οι δουλειές που έκανε για τον κινηματογράφο (βωβό ή ομιλούντα) του καλλιέργησαν μεγάλη ικανότητα στην ενορχήστρωση και μεγάλη χρωματική ευασθησία και εμπειρία. Μίλα επίσης για τη μεγάλη του εξοικείωση με τα «έλαφρα» είδη της μουσικής. Σημειωτέον ότι από το βιβλίο του Gradewitz και από άλλον είναι γνωστή η εκτιμηση που είχε ο Βάλτεργια των Σκαλκώτα και το πόσο προσώθησε το έργο του και ως μαέστρος και ως εκδότης» (trad. de l'auteur), courriel du 17.7.2016.

8 Skalkottas, Nikos: «*La critique musicale*» Moussikē Zoē n. 6 | pp.124-126.

9 Je citerai juste un exemple pour illustrer ce propos : Skalkottas écrit une critique très positive à propos d'un récital de l'intégrale de l'oeuvre pianistique de Schoenberg par la pianiste Else C. Kraus : «*L'actualité musicale de Berlin – Else C. Krauss (sic) joue des œuvres pour piano d'Arnold Schoenberg*» Moussikē Zoē, vol. 6 |mars 1931| p. 138-139. Son récit complète d'autres critiques berlinoises pour le même concert, de sorte qu'il devient possible de former une idée assez précise sur le jeu de la pianiste et l'ambiance qui régnait dans la salle. Kraus, qui avait suscité l'admiration d'Adorno et avait travaillé avec Schoenberg, avait déjà joué des œuvres de Skalkottas dans un concert de la classe de Schoenberg le 19 juin 1929 à l'Académie Prussienne des Arts.

10 Rapport préliminaire rédigé à Athènes le 20.12.2016. En conclusion, Katy Romanou propose que la thèse soit acceptée «dans l'état».

11 Skalkottas, Nikos : «Assemblée générale des musiciens sur la crise des concerts», Moussikē Zoē, vol. 5 |février 1931| p. 111-112, «Concert d'orchestre symphonique des musiciens sans emploi», Moussikē Zoē, vol. 6 |mars 1931| p. 138-139.

12 «Avec la poste d'après-demain, je vous écrirai une autre lettre, sur le coût élevé de la vie et les dépenses d'argent des jeunes riches, qui sont la cause principale de ce coût élevé» (trad. de l'auteur), lettre de Skalkottas au secrétaire du Conservatoire d'Athènes «Monsieur Papadimitriou», Centre de recherche et documentation du Conservatoire d'Athènes |7-20 novembre 1921|.

13 Thornley, John : «*Skalkottas in Haidari*», Nikos Skalkottas A Greek European, Vrontos, Haris (éd.), Benaki Museum | Athènes 2008| pp. 370-396.

14 Skalkottas, Nikos : «*Musique de chambre pour piano et vents*», notes de programme inédites sur le Deuxième quatuor pour piano et vents |Athènes, 1941-1943|.

MANOLIS KALOMIRIS:

His relationship with Dr. Erwin Felber and Béla Bélai in the forties and the fifties

By: Nektaria DELVINIOTI-VASILEIOU*

Manolis Kalomiris studied music composition and piano at the Vienna Music Academy¹ (1901-1906). During his studies there, he became acquainted with some of his fellow students, with whom he corresponded in later years and specifically during the forties and the fifties.

Dr. Erwin Felber (1885-1964) was born in Vienna. He was of Jewish origin² and Kalomiris' fellow student as well as a very good friend³. It was Felber who first initiated Kalomiris to modernist music during the third year of their studies⁴. Dr. Felber held a PhD in music. His thesis was on *Indian Music from the Vedic and the Classical Periods*⁵ (1912). In 1947, according to Felber, he had been in Shanghai since 1941⁶. There, he became artistic director of the European Jewish Artists Society which preserved Jewish music culture for European refugees⁷. In Shanghai Felber took up many activities in music. He wrote critics in German and English, and taught the piano at a Chinese University and gave music lectures in English, even though he was not a fluent speaker⁸. Felber was also a director at the Musical Scene and the Educational Department for immigrants in Shanghai, and was regarded as a respected member of the local artistic community⁹.

In the beginning of 1947, Felber wrote a letter to Kalomiris from Shanghai asking him for help to travel to Athens and return to Vienna. Felber was referring to various reasons for which he wanted urgently to leave Shanghai. Firstly, he was victim of xenophobia. Secondly, he suffered from harsh climatic conditions. Thirdly he was affected by the many infectious diseases¹⁰, and fourthly his life had been deprived of artistic opportunities for six years¹¹. But Felber's main argument was his desire to see his 86 years old mother, who was living in a Jewish home in Vienna, after having

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been tortured and experienced horrendous conditions in the Theresienstadt Concentration Camp during the Second World War¹².

Felber considered various ways to return to Europe, as it is likely that he did not have the money. According to him, the UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) would only pay the trip from Shanghai to Vienna, but Felber had planned to travel to Athens as well. However, he did not know if UNRRA would agree. Besides, Felber was determined to travel without Kalomiris' financial help. Felber congratulated Kalomiris on his nomination as a member of the Academy of Athens and thought he could use his influence upon influential personalities to help him. He asked Kalomiris if it was possible for him to transfer some of his money from London to Athens. As far as his trip to Athens was concerned, Felber was interested to know about the cost of living in Athens, the possibility of teaching the piano and music theory, as well as if he could bring gifts for Kalomiris and his family that he would have bought from the Customs of Shanghai.

Kalomiris decided that he would help his friend Felber¹³. Kalomiris was a charitable character and according to Fivos Anogianakis, towards artists in general, regardless of nationality, especially during the 1940s-1950s. During the Second World War, Kalomiris as the First General Director of the Greek National Opera, took care of artists who were often in danger and helped them save their lives. For example, Kalomiris continued to pay Renato Mordo's salary as a colleague and member of the National Opera, while he was imprisoned at the Chaidari Concentration Camp. He also helped Ivi Pana, who had been arrested and imprisoned in the same Concentration Camp. She was a piano teacher at the Hellenic Conservatory and Kalomiris' colleague. He managed to have her released from the camp¹⁴.

In the summer of 1947, Felber was concerned because he did not have any answers to his request and presumed that Kalomiris was too busy and had no time to write to him. In Shanghai, the climate was unbearable in summer and contributed to his anxiety¹⁵. It is possible that Kalomiris was not responsible for the delay. Béla Bélai had told Kalomiris about Felber's return to Vienna in a letter in 1952¹⁶. Béla Bélai or Béla Rosenfeld was also born in Vienna (02/08/1885¹⁷) and so was Felber. It was Bélai who first wrote to Kalomiris in the spring of 1952, after he had the visit of a

Greek lady with her sixteen years old daughter. Apparently, the daughter of this Greek lady was interested in taking the entrance examination at the conservatory. Bélai advised her mother to be careful in choosing the appropriate teacher for her daughter's preparation, since there was not any chance to change her choice later. It was quite possible that the lady was aware of Manolis Kalomiris' activity, from whom lady Bélai remembered his fellow student and got became aware about Kalomiris' career. That lady never visited Bélai again.

After his studies in Vienna in 1907, Bélai continued his lessons at the Budapest Franz-Liszt Academy and later returned to Vienna where he studied under Emil Sauer and Rosenthal¹⁸. According to Bélai, he was called 'Doctor of fingers' in Paris, since Bélai and Kalomiris had studied the piano technique in Vienna quite differently in comparison to Paris¹⁹. Bélai taught the piano in Shanghai for many years and abandoned the country because of communism. He also wanted to live in Paris since his wife was French. Bélai's wife was an opera singer who appeared in various concerts and in 1952 was teaching singing in Paris. Some of Bélai's students followed him in Paris, where he managed to buy a house for his students since it was quite difficult for foreign students to find lodgings²⁰. Bélai had two sons who were both musicians. One of them studied the cello with Alexanian and Fournier, at the École Normale and at the Conservatoire in Paris. The other son studied the violin with Geza Kresz at the Liszt Academy in Budapest, where he was a violinist at the National Opera. Bélai was also the owner of the known publishing house 'Napoli' in Germany.

As far as the existing relationship between Kalomiris and Bélai is concerned, we observe Kalomiris' general tendency to promote his compositions but on a basis of exchange and mutuality. Specifically, Kalomiris sent some of his compositions to Bélai and he probably proposed him to interpret them. Besides, Kalomiris was in favour of promoting Greek students to Bélai in order to teach them in Paris as an exchange. Bélai agreed with Kalomiris' proposal because he did not have the opportunity to have any students from China due to the political situation. He promised also to send to Kalomiris one of his compositions²¹. But we conclude that it is quite possible all these artistic exchanges were not realised since Bélai died suddenly in 1953, from a heart attack, according to his wife.

In conclusion, we highlight two features in Kalomiris' behaviour as far as these two relationships are concerned. The first one is the paternalistic Manolis Kalomiris towards Greek and foreign artists/musicians during the crucial historically decade 1940-1950, according to Anogianakis, who (i.e. Kalomiris) was motivated and activated to help them return to their artistic work and career, as it happened in Erwin Felber's case. The second one is related to the give and take relation where the promotion of Kalomiris' compositions meets a mutuality from Bélai, who is also willing to promote his own work and piano technique by teaching Kalomiris' Greek students the piano.

END NOTES

1 Kalomiris, Manolis (1883-1962), digilibRARY.academyofathens.gr 2 Michael Gordy, 'Professor Dr. Erwin Felber.' www.geni.com

3 '... Dr Felber (...) Ich habe mit Ihnen auch aus Shanghai Korrespondiert und wir waren immer sehr gute Freunde.' 05/04/1952, letter from Manolis Kalomiri to Béla Bélai.

4 Nektaria Delvinioti, Dissertation 'Manolis Kalomiris: His Personality and Action through his Correspondence (1939-1962)', University of Athens, 2020, p.125.

5 Gordy, aforementioned.

6 '... Ich blieb bis zum Februar 1941 ziemlich unbekannt in Wien und fuhr dann mit dem Sibirian-Express nach Shanghai, wo ich mich seitdem aufhielte.' 04/01/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

7 Gordy, aforementioned.

8 '... Ich schreibe hier Kritiken in deutscher wie in englischer Sprache, halte gelegentlich in schlechtem Englisch Vorträge und unterrichte unter dem Zwange der Verhältnisse viel Klavier, darunter neben Privatstunden auch an einer chinesischen Hochschule, wo ich einige Dutzend nur chinesisch sprechende Schüler habe.' 04/01/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

9 '... und Bildungswesen der gesamten Emigration geleitet – natürlich auch das Musikwesen, ich bin auch (ihr) Mitglied der hiesigen Künstlerschaft, für die ich freilich bei den hier eng begrenzten künstlerischen Kleinstadtverhältnissen nicht all zu viel tun konnte.' 15/03/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

10 '... Ich selbst möchte mein Leben nicht in Shanghai beschließen, ich könnte auch bei der fremdenfeindlichen Stimmung, die hier derzeit gegenüber Fremden herrscht, eines Tages Schwierigkeiten haben. (...) Das schlimmste ist hier das Klima mit seinem sprunghaften Temperaturwechsel und mit seinen vielen Infektionskrankheiten, (s)e vielfach eine Folg des tropisch feuchten ungesunden Sommers sind.' 04/01/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

11 '... Ich freue mich aber auch schon sehr, nach dem vielfach unkünstlerischen Leben, das ich hier durch sechs Jahre geführt habe, mit Dir wieder über künstlerische Probleme zu diskutieren, (...).' 15/03/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

12 '... Meine Mutter, die im Konzentrationslag(e) Theresienstadt war, ist nach furchtbaren Erlebnissen nach Wien zurückgekehrt, sie ist 86 Jahre alt und lebt in Wien in einer Art jüdischem Versorgungshaus, wo sie gegen Not geschützt ist.' 04/01/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

13 '... Vor Allem nimm meine allerherzlichste Gratulation zu Deiner Ernennung zum Mitglied der Akademie entgegen! (...) Mr. Kawuris freute sich sehr, von Dir eine Nachricht zu erhalten, er liebt Dich sehr und wird Dir wohl auch noch selbst schreiben. Ich weiß nicht, wie ich Dir für Deine rasche energische Intervention danken soll und werde dies wohl noch gründlicher persönlich in Athen selbst besorgen können. (...) Er soll eine große Schiffsrederei in Shanghai, Athen und London unterhalten – er ist nicht Berufsssohn der Honorarkonsul – und könnte mir daher bei der Übertragung allerdings winziger Vermögensreste von London nach Athen eventuell behilflich sein. (...) Ferner möchte ich einiges Positives über die Lebenskosten in Athen erfahren. (...) Unter dem Zwange der Verhältnisse habe ich hier sehr viel an Privatschüler aller Nationen und auch an Hochschulen Klavier – und Theorieunterricht. (...) Habe ich dort überhaupt irgend eine Arbeitsgenehmigung? (...) Fahre ich zuerst nach Wien, so zahlt die Unrara mir die Reise, es ist aber möglich, dass man mich dann aus Österreich nicht mehr hinaus lassen Fahre ich direkt nach Athen so muss ich mir unter Umständen die unerschwinglichere Fahrt selbst zahlen und wer weiß, ob ich dann in Athen ein Besucher permit nach Wien bekommen und meine Mutter, (...).' 15/03/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

14 Delvinioti, Dissertation 'Manolis Kalomiris: His Personality and ...', pp.16, 34, 339.

15 '... Ich weiß sehr wohl, dass sich die Behörden mit der Erledigung solcher Angelegenheiten nicht beeilen und ich verstehe sehr wohl, dass Dir bei Deiner starken und umfassenden Interaktion keine Zeit zum Korrespondieren bleibt. (...) Ich hatte gehofft, dass es mir erspart werden würde, noch einen Sommer in diesem miserablen Klima zu verbringen, aber nunmehr scheint mir diese Hoffnung mehr und mehr zu schwinden.' 07/06/1947, letter from Dr. Erwin Felber to Manolis Kalomiris.

16 '... Ich danke dir vom Herzen für alle Nachrichten die du mir gibst über unsere Kollegen. Besonders befreute mich die Nachricht, dass Dr. Felber in Wien zurückkehrte. Ich habe mit Ihnen auch aus Shanghai Korrespondiert (...).' 05/04/1952, letter from Manolis Kalomiris to Béla Bélai.

17 Sophie Fetthauer: Béla Bélai, in Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit, Claudia Mauer Zenck, Peter Petersen (Hg.), Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, UHH, Institut für Historische Musikwissenschaft, LexM, 2007. https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexperson_00002786

18 '... wir waren zusammen in Wien am Conservatorium bis 1907, (...) Als Sie fortgingen, bin ich erst nach Budapest

in die Franz-Liszt Academie und dann zurück nach Wien zu Emil Sauer, dann habe ich auch bei Rosenthal hospitiert. (...) Da nun meine Schüler nicht mehr kommen können aus China, habe ich meine zimmer bei der Studentenhilfe angemeldet, dadurch ham eine Griechische Dame mit hier 16 jährigen Tochter zu mir, und durch die Unterredung erfuhr ich, daß Sie in Athen leben. Da die Dame Sie erwähnte, gab ich ihr der Ralschlag Vorsichtig zu sein, denn, wenn die Tochter zur Vorbereitung zu einem Lehrer des Conservatoire gehr(?), muß sie, wenn sie die Äufung(?) besteht bei dem Lehrer am Conservatorium bleiben, selbst wenn sie unzufrieden ist, ein Wechsel ist nicht mehr möglich, (...) P.S. Die griechische Dame ist nicht wiedergekommen.' 28/03/1952, letter from Béla Bélai to Manolis Kalomiris.

19 '... Schon in Shanghai sagte mir die Mutter einer belgischen Schülerin in Paris wäre nicht ein Lehrer, der mit mir zu vergleichen wäre, der die Finger seiner Schüler so ausbildet und für die Concerte vorbereitet, viele nennen mich der Fingerdoctor. Wu haben auch in Wien eine ganz andere Ausbildung genofsen!'. 15/04/1952, letter from Béla Bélai to Manolis Kalomiris.

20 '... Jahrelang was ich in Shanghai als erster Prof. tätig und bin infolge des Kommunismus fortgezogen, und habe mir hier meine jette(?) aufgeschlagen, da meine Frau Französin ist. Schüler sind mir aus Shanghai gefolgt, andere konnten nicht mehr kommen, da sie nur, von der Regierung aus, in kommunistische Länder studieren dürfen. (...) Übrigens ist meine Frau Opern und Concert sängerin genesen und giebt hier Gesangunterricht.' 28/03/1952, letter from Béla Bélai to Manolis Kalomiris.

21 '... Ich freue mich schon sehr auf Deine Sendung, die ich mir gründlich durchsehen werde, und mit meinen Schülern studieren werde, vielleicht gelingt es mir Deine Werke hier bekant zu machen. (...) Es ist sehr nett von Die mir Schüler senden zu wollen, was ich gerne annehme, da mir die Verbindung mit China vollkommen unterbunden ist. (...) Ein Sohn von uns hat hier in Paris an der Ecole Normale bei Alexanian Cello studiert, als dieser nach Amerika ging, ging unser Sohn ins 'Conservatoire' wo er als Auständer (Ungar) wich einen Freiplatz erspielte. Er blieb aber nur 3 Monate dort, weil der Lehrer ihm nicht genügte, und ging privat zu Fournier. (...) Momentan habe ich mehr zeit und schreibe eigene Kompositionen, werde Die später eine senden. In Deutschland war ich Begründer u. Besitzer les(?) vekannten Napoli Verlags, den Du viellerchst kennst – Ein Sohn von uns hat in Budapest an der Liszt-Academie bei Geza Kresz Geige studien und ist nun dort an der Staatsoper als Geigen(?), aber durch die politische Lage hören wir z. Zt. nichts von ihm.' 15/04/1952, letter from Béla Bélai to Manolis Kalomiris.

22 '... Leider Gottes ist ihm diese Freude eines Wiedersehens mit Ihnen nicht gegönnt werden, denn mein tenser(?) Lebenscamerad ist mir am 2 Mai plötzlich genommen werden, nach gang herzen schwein(?) Krankheit, (...) und am 2 Mai winde mein geliebter Béla erlöst.' 15/09/1953, letter from M. Bélai to Manolis Kalomiris.

GREEKNESS IN NIKOS SKALKOTTAS' CHAMBER MUSIC: *An analytical view of modal and idiomatic structural issues*

By: Penelope PAPAGIANNOPPOULOU*

Introduction

Skalkottas composed tonal and atonal chamber and orchestral music. Interest in Greek and foreign scholars in his compositions increased considerably since the 1990s¹. However, there is still no overall analytical study of his works². On the other hand, there is much progress in the study from historical and aesthetic perspectives. The stylistic pluralism and the multiplicity of musical idioms³ became often discussed in relation to the composer's views of tradition and innovation. In fact, the harmonic combination of the two poles of tradition and innovation is one of the main and most significant characteristics of Skalkottas' music. In order to understand how traditional and innovative systems function in his music, it is important to explain their place within his work.

Skalkottas' relationship with tradition is best observed in Greek folk and popular songs, and in Western music. These two styles are related to the composer's background and education. On the one hand, he was born in a small town, heard and played Greek folk-music during his childhood, and on the other hand, his education as a violinist and as a composer was based on Western traditions and includes classical and romantic repertoires as well as new composition techniques which were developed especially during his studies in Berlin. Needless to say, these two traditions have totally different non-exclusive characteristics.

Innovations in Skalkottas' music are found in the manners in which he used the musical material and, in some cases, in his composition methods. A prominent example of innovation is the personal way in which he used the twelve-tone system. However, innovations are also present in other aspects of his work. In a number of cases, different neo-classical aspects of the composer's work and at the same time specific deviations from the norms become innovative enough to characterise

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the whole, and the fact that all of these elements are combined with the aforementioned references to tradition, is a central point from which to begin the analysis of his work.

It will become obvious that the combination of traditions and innovations has many different aspects and the balance between them changes from one work to another⁴. All of these aspects have been thoroughly studied. Among these, priority had been given to 'Hellenicity'. This is understandable considering the quantity of Greek folk elements in his works, such as folk or folk-like tunes, traditional rhythms and modes which are incorporated in his atonal language⁵. His work includes elements and techniques of European traditions and avant-garde, combined with Greek traditions which set Skalkottas among the composers of the Second Viennese School and of composers of the Greek National School expressing a non-romantic vision of national identity⁶.

The present paper will attempt at exploring the ways in which Greek folk elements, such as folk or folk-like tunes, traditional rhythms and modes are used in his chamber music. This exploration will focus on features which could become the criteria according to which a categorisation of such works and different manifestations of Greekness may be achieved.

Folk elements in Skalkottas' chamber music

Folk elements are a major part in much of his orchestral music. In the *Thirty-six Greek Dances*, Greekness is obvious from the title. On the other hand, there are concerto movements where we find a deeper relation to Greek folk-song or to Greek rhythm. Greekness has the same purpose with chamber music. However, it is important to note that when comparing orchestral and chamber music exhibiting Greekness, chamber music appears to be a more fertile field for developing innovative music in harmony and form which remains accessible to the listener through the use of popular tunes or familiar idiomatic elements. Indeed, Skalkottas often chose short forms in order to create an original musical world, technically and idiomatically.

To start with, the following table lists chamber works which have a direct relation to Greek folk-music, a direction which is described by the composer through the title of the work or of some of its movements:

A/K	Composition dates ⁷	Work
43	1938	<i>Eight Variations for piano, violin and cello (on a Greek Folk Theme)</i>
51	1946	<i>1st Little suite for violin and piano</i>
37	(1938/1940-47)	<i>10 Greek Dances for string quartet</i>
37a	1947	<i>The old Dimos</i> for string quartet
59	1940-47	<i>6 Greek Dances</i> for violin and piano
60	1945-46 or 1947	<i>Three Greek Folk-Songs</i> for violin and piano
44	1947	<i>Duo</i> for violin and cello – IV. Finale (<i>Bauern Tanz Szenen</i>)

Table 1. Chamber works with direct reference to folk-music according to their title

Beyond the obvious differences, the first set of works shows a great variety of different manifestations and uses of Greek folk material. A closer look at the main themes and principal characteristics of these works provides a view about how the composer used folk elements. However, in some chamber works, Greek folk elements are somehow incorporated, but this is not apparent with the title or through a recognisable melody. So, after tracing the more obvious Greek folk elements in the works in the first table, the present paper will explore the more abstract characteristics in the works in table 2.

Based on the information provided in these tables, we can make the following observations:

- Greek references are found throughout the composer's creative work. There is no group of works of a particular period that would enable us to talk about a 'Greek period'. Thus, Skalkottas from the first to the final years of his life had Greek music in mind.
- Among these works, only five are tonal while all others are atonal or dodecaphonic.
- With regard the orchestration, the violin is predominant. This will be analysed later.
- Greekness is not associated with a specific musical form. A suite or another set of dances may be suitable for incorporating a folk-song or a folk-like tune, and Skalkottas often used them in large forms, mostly non-developmental.

A/K	Composition dates	Work
79ε	1924	<i>Suite for two pianos</i>
32	(1928)	<i>1st String Quartet (iii)</i>
47	1929	<i>2nd Sonatina for violin and piano (iii)</i>
30	(1930)	<i>Octet</i>
53	(1936)	<i>March of the little soldiers for violin and piano</i>
55	(1936)	<i>Nocturne for violin and piano</i>
39	(1936)	<i>Scherzo for quartet with piano</i>
45	(1939-40)	<i>Duo for violin and viola (iii)</i>
35	1940	<i>4th String quartet (iii-iv)</i>
38	(1940)	<i>Ten Sketches for strings (X)</i>
40		<i>First Quartet for oboe, trumpet, bassoon and piano</i>
40a	(1941-1943)	<i>Second Quartet for oboe, trumpet, bassoon and piano</i>
67		<i>Sonata concertante for bassoon and piano</i>
44	(1947)	<i>Duo for violin and cello (iii)</i>
62	1949	<i>Sonatina for cello and piano</i>
63	(1948-49)	<i>Bolero for cello and piano</i>
52	1949	<i>2nd Little Suite for violin and piano</i>

Table 2. Works using Greek elements indirectly

The two tables do not correspond to two different categories. Rather, they serve as a starting point for the investigation of the basic features associated with Greek references and their similarities.

The second part of the present paper is divided into sections according to unifying characteristics in the first part.

I. Selected analyses of works from the first table

Ia. Eight Variations on a Greek Folk Theme (1938)

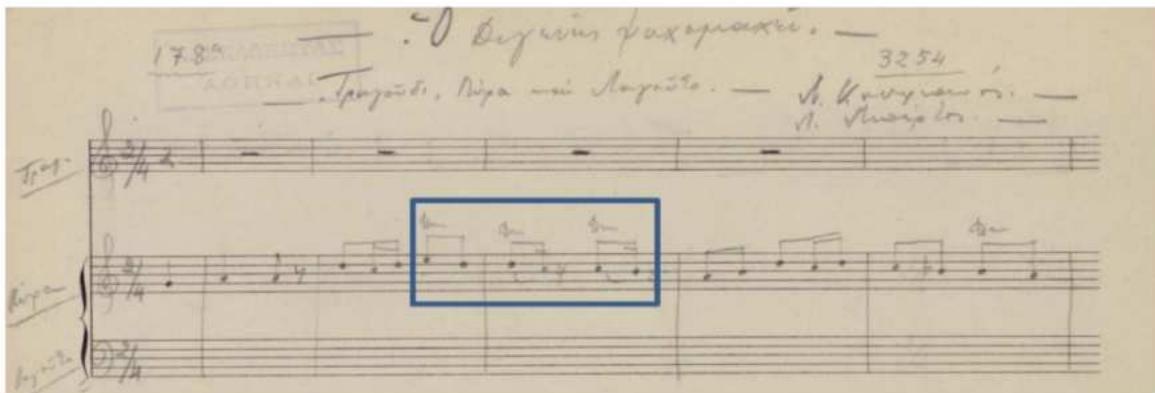
The theme of these atonal variations has a clear Greek folk character. The composer reflects this quality in the title of the work. However, the origin of this theme is ambiguous and the melody of bars 1-8 is probably a folk-like tune.



Example 1. Eight Variations on a Greek Folk Theme: theme bars 1-8

The modal character of the melodic line is clearly defined in bars 1-7, where C can have the function of tonic, considering its position. The pentachord used is similar to a Dorian pentachord with a diminished fifth. This diminished Dorian formulation is a characteristic chromatic alteration broadly used by the composer in many of his works also including folk elements. The folk character, though, is not based only on modality. There are stylistic features of voice-leading which are reminiscent of folk voice-leading in several instruments, including the violin. These are: a) the pentuplet with neighbouring notes of C in bar 1 b) in bar 3 the neighbouring repeated notes, and c) the way in which the melody travels from one to another note through all passing notes in 32nd notes. In fact, these elements are practices used in folk-music and passed on informally with oral tradition. The following example is one of the songs transcribed by Skalkottas for the Merlie Archive⁸. It is a *Rizitiko* song (old Cretan song) entitled '*Digenes is dying*'.

Example 2. *Rizitiko* Song - vocal line: motive of the first box identical to motive of bar 5 and bar 7, second box to bar 1



Example 3. Rizitiko song - instrumental introduction. Typical instrumental trills are reminiscent of the violin motive in bar 3

In this example, the violin melody of the theme is different. Some of the features previously mentioned are reminiscent of folk voice-leading (marked in the score). Finally, apart from these motivic and modal elements, other elements of the melodic line that bring to mind folk-music are the following: a) repetition of pitches C in bars 1-4b) usage of folk-like embellishments especially with the violin, which is the only symphonic orchestra instrument which is exactly the same as the folk violin, with the same tuning as well, and c) the melodic structure based on specific tetrachords and pentachords, without large leaps.

Nevertheless, in order to return to the pitch construction, bar 8, changes the first impression with the addition of two more pitches, G and F#. The new pitch collection – arranging pitches in real order - becomes:

$$\text{F\#-G-A-B\flat-C-D-E\flat-F-G\flat}$$

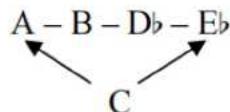
↔

This succession is symmetrical with C as axis and contains two octatonic scales. It combines octatonic 1 starting from C upwards and octatonic 2 downwards. This thematic melody is transformed further by the continuation of the exposition of the theme. Regarding the passage, in purely modal terms, the mid-ending on G (the fifth degree of the mode) is usual and F# would just be a leading tone. However, it is not only the continuation of the melodic line, but also the accompaniment which cancels perceptually the ‘modal sense’. The overall atonal context of bars 1-8 is created mostly by the multiple layers of the musical texture. The four textural layers

of the musical surface complete the full chromatic aggregate in every bar.

Example 4. *Eight Variations on a Greek Popular Theme*, bars 1-7

The symmetric structure of the main melody, which brought out the axis C, is related to the lower layer of the accompaniment. In bars 1-3, C serves as an axis for the two-note simultaneities, as follows:



These are some of the techniques used by Skalkottas for this theme in order to create a fully atonal context with strong chromatic elements, as well as modal acoustic meanings. This last point becomes evident due to the melodic line of the violin at higher dynamic. Overall, through the use of both modal, octatonic and symmetrical elements, Skalkottas created a rich palette of pitches which will vary in the following sections. Each of the variations focuses on a specific characteristic of the theme and through developing of variations, brings to the surface new elements.

Ib. *First Little suite for violin and piano* (1946)

The direct relation of this work to folk-music is evident from the titles of the three movements: I. *Tanz – Preludio*, II. *Volkslied [Folk Song]* (*Thessaliotiko [song from Thessalia]*) and III. *Finale, Wie ein Bauertanz [like a village danse]*.

The title of the first movement (*Tanz*) gives the dance character of the theme. Its formal organisation is as follows: A-B-A'-B'-A"-A-coda⁹. The most distinctive characteristic of this formal plan is the economy in formal structure. In his analysis, Zervos¹⁰ characterises the form of the movement as 'rondo-like'. In fact, the use of the term is appropriate despite the absence of a C section, due to formal economy.

A typical example of this property is also the theme-type used in bars 1-8.

The theme is constructed as a sentence, but after the two-measure exposition of the basic idea and the varied repetition (a'), one more varied repetition follows instead of a (b), and the final two-measure phrase (b) closes the continuous phrase. So, in this way there is no (c) phrase. Finally, every thematic and motivic element in every formal unit of the movement seems to be a variation of the basic idea and the developing variation technique is the main compositional tool.

Regarding the idiom and the usage of folk elements, the suite is atonal, and the chromatic aggregate is completed frequently (from 1/2 to 2 measures), but in this atonal context folk elements appear in the voice leading. These references can be summarised with the following points:

Violon Solo

Piano

Vln.

Pno.

Allegro marcato e ben ritmato (♩ = 92)

Example 5. 1st Little Suite for Violin and Piano, Tanz-Preludio - bars 1-8

i. Strong rhythmic character with rhythmic patterns reminiscent of dance folk-music. This rhythmic texture is created by the continuous succession of 16th notes, with a rest at the downbeat of the measure at the melodic line of the violin, as well as by the rhythmic patterns of the piano accompaniment.

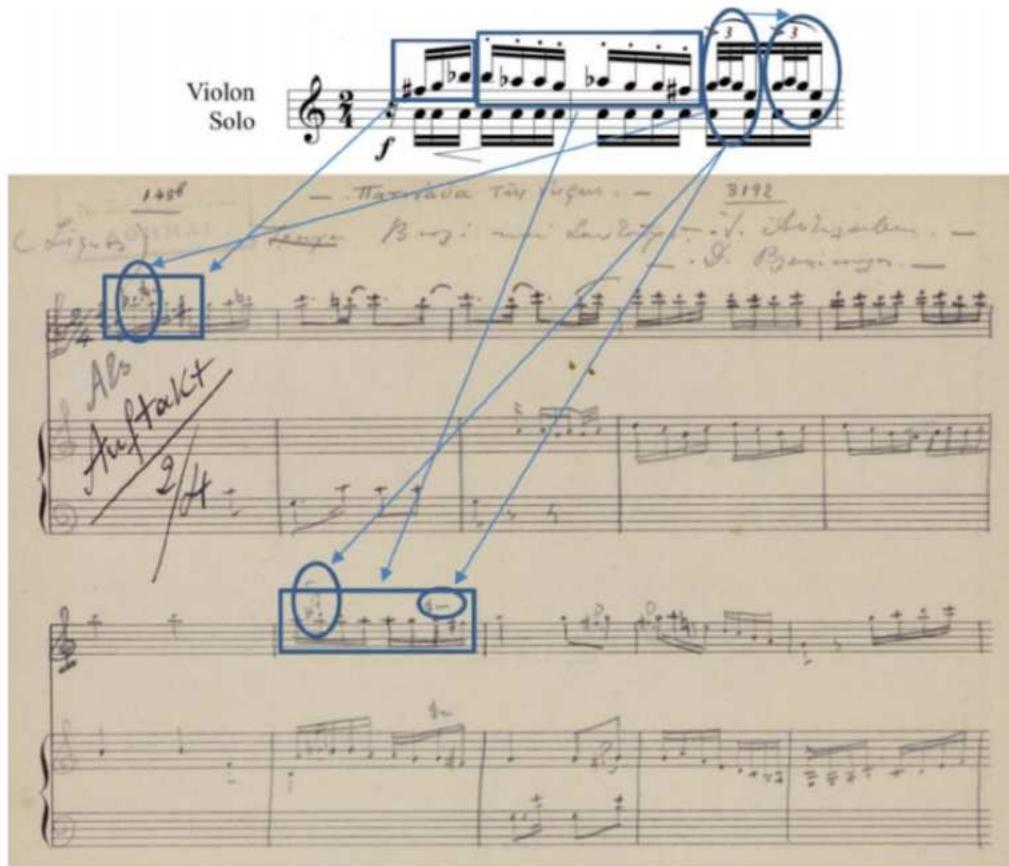
However, the combination of these two layers (sixteenth notes and triplets) creates a complicated rhythm, which cancels the dance-like character.

The two different layers of the surface complete each other in a different way than usually it does with a dance.

ii. The existence of an *ostinato* played by the violin is a direct reference to folk-music. *Ostinati* have been a constant feature of folk-music in many regions of Greece, either as a voice with a sustained note while the other voices are in motion, or as an instrumental accompaniment. In the specific movement, the duration of the *ostinato* is six measures and consists in the open strings of the violin (bars 1-7: A, bars 9-16: D and bars 17-22: G). This technique is reminiscent of usual practices in folk wind instruments (such as the *tsabouna* of Greek islands and the bagpipe in Macedonia and Thrace in Northern Greece) and string instruments (such as the lyre, lute, etc.) In general, in folk-music ensembles the use of *ostinati* is very frequent, perhaps because of the small number of instruments and voices involved.

iii. The third and maybe the most prominent Greek feature is found in melodic or rhythmic melodic elements that bring to mind folk-music. These elements exist in the basic idea from which the entire first section results (bars 1- 24). Therefore, certain similarities are noticed with a folk-song from the Greek island Sifnos. This song was transcribed by Skalkottas for the Merlie Archive. It is the *Patinada tes Nefes* (*Song of the bride*), which was transcribed from a recording with violin and cimbalom.

In particular, the melodic material of the violin in bars 1-2 has the following similarities with the song *Patinada*: a) the cell consisting of three first notes of the suite is reminiscent of the first notes of the song, especially due to the interval of diminished fourths (B♭-F♯), b) repetitions of notes is a significant and frequent feature of both melodic lines (see bar 7 and below with the song), and c) the ending of the violin phrase with triplets of 32^{nds} is the same as the characteristic melodic embellishments of the song, which are noted as trills at the present transcription (e.g. bar 1, bar 7, etc.). d) Moreover, voice-leading in sections A and B are based on



Example 6. 'Patinada tes nefes' (Song of the Bride)

particular pentachords reminiscent of folk melodic constructions and especially section B includes specific scales. Similar modal elements and the way in which they are used (see below) in the suite are characteristic of folk-music.

These four points summarise the most characteristic folk-ish elements of the movement and coincide with the material from the beginning till the end.

However, all of these features are varied and every transformation of the material brings to light new elements which may relate to modality and to Greekness in a new way. In terms of pitch organisation, the atonal surface is structured according to certain processes, basically of motivic development, where the chromatic aggregate is completed frequently, creating a sense of chromatism. For example, in bars 1-2 the melodic line of the violin (Ex.5) presents a hexachord 6-2 and the aggregate is completed with another 6-2 hexachord by the piano accompaniment. This hexachordal organisation remains the same in every presentation of the basic idea, until the end of the movement. However, already in bar 3 the surface is structured in a

different way and the violin presents a transposed variation of the basic idea, bringing a new octatonic scale, plus the repeated note A. The three remaining notes are given by the piano. The evolution of the melody creates questions about the modal identity of the first two measures: if bars 1-2 create the impression of a pitch center through the presentation of the pentachord E-F♯-G-A♭-B♭, this impression disappears at bar 8 with the frequent complete chromatic aggregates. However, ordering all notes of bars 1-4 upwards, the succession created is the following: E-F♯-G-A♭-(A)-B♭-C♭-D♭-E♭. This succession includes five semitones and at the same time the tetrachords and pentachords of which it consists and which have no characteristic equivalent to those in folk-music, because of chromaticism. Therefore, the passage does not include any recognisable mode of folk-music. The only exception is the fact that the melodic line of the violin presents the mode divided in two separate parts (bars 1-2 E- F♯-G-A♭-B♭ and bars 3, B♭-C♭-D♭-E♭) – a feature that refers to the melodic construction of folk tunes. In the table below, all the successions presented in section A are shown:

Section A

Example 7. Modes from the First movement

The number of semitones included in these fragments highlight their chromatic identity. At the same time, they confirm the absence of pitch-centres.

Depending on the context, sometimes it is the starting note which is more important, sometimes the ending note or an intermediate note (fourth or fifth) and in the end, all these potential centres are not related. Melodic constructions bring to the surface tetrachords, pentachords or combination of these in heptachords and octachords, which have all the previously mentioned characteristics but without any tonal direction with hierarchical relations. With regards the overall pitch structure, Skalkottas finally uses a great number of pitch class sets, which derive from different realisations of the initial basic idea, analysed previously, and bring new intervallic relations. Diatonism, which would be the direct result of a modal environment is not confirmed in a final way and is not even heard as a feature of this very personal idiom. On the contrary, chromatic elements seem to have a special role in the movement. This fact is connected with the composer's choice in using a folk melody with many chromatic elements. Chromatism seems to be one of the main purposes from the beginning of the movement and a characteristic feature of the basic idea and its development process. The second movement of the suite is entitled II: *Griechisches Volkslied (Thessaliotiko)*. It consists of three formal sections (A-B-A'), of which the second one is more chromatic and different in texture. This simple formal construction is combined with slow harmonic rhythm (especially in type-A sections), simple melodies, and texture without great dynamic peaks. In comparison with the title of the first movement of the suite, which refers abstractly to a dance, the title of the second movement announces a folk-song which originating from Thessalia. However, even in this case, the particular song of reference is not identifiable. In fact, the melodic line of the first measures is similar to the second theme of Skalkottas' *Peloponisiakos* no12 Series II of the *36 Dances*¹¹.



Example 8. Up: Peloponisiakos Dance; down: 1st Little Suite-2nd movement - bars 1-8

The use of a specific melody in this movement is more of a self-reference than a reference to Greek music. In his analysis for the movement, G. Zervos, comparing the two works, mentioned that '*despite their differences, both works reflect the same compositional logic such as tight structure, prevalence of mathematics, creation of tensions and releases and alternation between diatonism and chromatism and, above all, a transformation of Greek folk-music into something more universal (art music), while preserving every genuine and authentic element of this tradition*'¹².

With regard the idiom, the final atonal effect, in the first section, for example, is based on the combination of diatonic melodies with the violin and diatonic chords with the piano in such a way where chromatic aggregates occur frequently.

However, the juxtaposition of three musical layers at the surface is not the only chromatic factor. The diatonic melodies progressively become more and more chromatic by the adding of notes and accidentals and by creating modal interchanges.

Regarding the initial melody, skepticism has been expressed by scholars¹³ about its Greek-modal identity as it does not have any features corresponding to melodies of the first movement, or to other melodies from works that refer to folk-music directly or indirectly. The melodic line of the violin is based on the second tetrachord of D major scale (Ionian) in bars 1-4 and in bars 5-7 on the second tetrachord of D Dorian.

The diatonic character of the first four measures is not at all reminiscent of any Greek folk-songs, not only in the suite, but also in the *Peloponisiakos*, where this melody is accompanied by D major and D minor chords. Another noticeable feature of these measures is the way in which the chords of piano accompaniment alternate, which is reminiscent of the way in which I and IV alternate with the Dance. This type of embellishments (*appoggiaturas*) disorientates the listener from every modal sense that is established by any means, let alone the bimodal context created by the combination of the E \flat minor chord with the F minor chord and the melody in the D mode.

However, the sense of folk idiom as background for this atonal composition remains, not only because of the modal elements of the melodic line but also due to chromatic elements which gradually come through variations at the musical surface. Summarising all the Greek elements we conclude that the voice-leading has a modal character similar to folk voice leadings, moving in a frame of certain tetrachords and pentachords, and that in bars 5-7 the use of the Dorian mode and the characteristic endings (e.g. ending on A – a principal note for D mode), and c) in the following bars (bars 8-10) where the melody is based on the chromatic tetrachord D-E \flat -F \sharp -G with a double presence of F as sharpened and natural. This tetrachord is a common feature of folk-music and the modification of F does not change the context. In both cases a folk tetrachord occurs and the chromatic saturation of the melody is realised with a tetrachord which exists in folk-music, d) in bars 12-14, in which the melody is an inverted version of bars 5-7, the note B is replaced by B \flat , creating a Phrygian ending, which brings to mind usual Greek modes, e) the simple small ternary form (see Id in the present paper).

Finally, a combination of chromatism, modality and serialism completely different from the first movement, occurs through developing variations, modal interchanges and chromatic elements. However, some composition aspects remain the same: a) removal from an initial stable modal environment through chromatic saturation¹⁴b) the use of hexachordal structures in the middle sections, c) the fluctuation of the frequency in which the chromatic aggregate is completed according to the formal organization, d) note centricity on A and D, e) avoidance of symmetrical structures.

The *finale* of the *First Little Suite for Violin and Piano* is entitled *Finale – Wie ein Bauertanz, [like a village dance]*. It is organised formally as a rondo-like cyclic form (A-B-A'-C-A-B-A'-C-Coda) with a structural repetition of the first section (A-B-A'-C) in transposition, which makes the overall formal structure a binary form. The atonal context is combined with chromatic and diatonic elements in the third movement too. As the title suggests, the movement is written in a fast dance rhythm with intense rhythmic patterns, which are repeated and varied, thus reminding the environment of the first movement. However, it is not only the intense and fast rhythm of which it is reminiscent. The first thematic element of the movement (Ex.9) is characterised by the fragmentation in the melodic line with the violin. The opening figure with the triad refers rhythmically to the first part where triads had an important role either as melodic or accompanying elements. Subsequently, in bar 1 the melodic line of the violin presents an almost diatonic pentachord that is clearly reminiscent of the modal tetrachords and pentachords which emerged as building blocks of the melody of the first movement. These tetrachords now belong to the basic idea, variational processes which construct section A.

The musical score consists of two staves: Violin and Piano. The Violin staff is in treble clef, 2/4 time, and dynamic *f*. The Piano staff is in bass clef, 2/4 time, and dynamic *f*. The tempo is *Allegro vivo* (♩ = 135 - 150). The score is divided into bars. Bars 5-10 are highlighted with blue boxes. The Violin's melodic line starts with a triad (B, D, G) and then moves to a diatonic pentachord (B, C, D, E, G). The Piano accompaniment consists of chords and rhythmic patterns.

Example 9. First Little Suite - finale - bars 1-5

A more characteristic similarity and clearer reference to the first movement is the use of repeated notes, as motivic elements directly related to the first theme, primarily. This element is set to a new cycle of developing variations and appears in more passages, both in the melodic line and in the accompaniment.

Finally, motivic similarities are found all over the musical surface and all these lead to the assumption that the material of the movement originates from the previous movements. In fact, while the first two movements of the suite had a direct relation to folk-songs (even through self-reference in the second one), in the third movement, Greekness emerges through developing variations of the material of the

previous ones. This is exactly its Hellenic meaning, in combination of course with the somewhat idiomatic use of the violin as a solo instrument with techniques similar to those commented previously and referring to the traditional violin. The title is not 'A *Village Dance*', but 'Like a *Village Dance*', which reads as an allusion to a folk-like dance. In this *rondo*, the composer creates three different formal sections. The first one derives from the others and all together are related to the previous parts of the suite, creating one more different realisations of the mixing of chromatic and diatonic elements.

Ic. *Duo for Violin and Cello (Fourth movement - Pastoral Dance Scenes (Bauern Tanz Szenen))*

One different realisation of this blend is achieved in this movement, which is included in the first table of works because of its subtitle. The formal structure of the movement (A-B-A-C-A-Devel.-A- B-C-A-Coda) is a kind of *rondo-sonata* and the atonal pitch-structure is based on complementarity. With regard the folk character of the movement, it results from rhythmic characteristics, small motives and melodic fragments. There is no direct or complete reference to a folk tune and the basic Greek folk-music characteristic is the frequent use of a 7/8 meter, which alternates with 2/4. This element is first presented in bar 3 and its subdivision in 3-2-2 eights is a clear reference to *Kalamatianos Greek dance* (7/8 meter).

Example 10. *Duo for Violin and Cello - fourth movement - bars 1-9*

In the following bars of the first section, Skalkottas uses another irregular meter: 5/8 (Ex.11). In these bars, another characteristic element of Greek music also occurs. It is the melodic fragment of the violin melody which presents the pentachord 5-10 – the diminished Dorian pentachord (see also 1b and 2b of the present paper)



Example 11. *Duo for Violin and Cello* - fourth movement - bars 14-21

The melodic fragment suggests the note A as the tonic of the specific passage. However, pitch centricity is not confirmed either from the continuation of the melody or by the accompanying harmony which is based on the complementary pitches (7-10). At the same time, this pitch collection, with the same ordering, is reminiscent of the main theme of the previous movement of the *Duo* (*Scherzo*, bars 1-19).



Example 12. *Duo for Violin and Cello* - Scherzo

Almost every melodic or motivic Greek reference which occurs in the frame of this large form has similar relations with the previous material. In fact, if this movement (Fourth) is entitled *Pastoral Dance Scenes*, the previous *scherzo* (Third) could be entitled *Pastoral Dance*, but it is not. That is why it is not included in the first table. It becomes obvious then that the titles, supposedly, have a less important

role in identifying Greekness in Skalkottas' works and the next table of 'Greek' pieces will offer as much information as the first one and perhaps more.

Id. Tonal works – Associations between works of the first table

The rest of the pieces included in the table are tonal works which differ from each other. The *old Dimos for String Quartet* is an arrangement of the well-known melody of the opera *Markos Botsaris*, composed by Paul Karrer in 1859.

In fact, this song is not an original folk-song but it was considered as such because of its popularity. Skalkottas makes an arrangement for quartet with few differences in relation to Karrer's version, adding small accompanying figures for the purpose of the quartet and treating dissonance very softly.

The *Three Greek Folk-Songs for Violin and Piano* is a different case. Skalkottas makes different re-harmonisation of the songs¹⁵, maintaining the folk melody almost unchanged. In general, among the tools he used for arranging and re-harmonising the songs, the most prominent are the following: a) the use of pedal points ('isokrates' in Greek – a technique commonly used in some areas), b) chords with added notes, tetrachords, and other chordal elements which in some cases end up to five or six-note simultaneities, c) melodic imitations according to counterpoint rules, which improve chromatism (always in the frame of tonality) and specific chromatic moves in one of the voices comprising the musical surface. All these features are tools and techniques that are broadly used by the composer besides the tonal or atonal idioms.

Finally, among the tonal works in the first table, two works belong to the self-reference category (see also 2c in the present paper) inasmuch they are arrangements of the orchestral work *36 Greek Dances for Orchestra: 10 Greek Dances for String Quartet* and *6 Greek Dances for Violin and Piano*. The orchestral work has been studied thoroughly by scholars¹⁶ bringing to light many aspects of history, harmony, form, musical idioms and style. For the purposes of the present survey, the following points from Christodoulou, are taken into consideration:

1. *Skalkottas changes systematically the folk tunes, through variations* (p.75)

This conclusion about Greek Dances is related to the whole works referring to Greek folk-music. As we observed through the first set of works, the systematic variation of folk tunes is either made before the construction of the theme, or at a

secondary level with regard to the presentation of the original material. This differentiation leads in the first case to themes with a remote relation to the original tune (e.g. the first movement of the *First Little Suite for Violin and Piano* and the *Eight Variations on a Greek Folk Tune*) and in the second case to a closer one with 'distorted' versions of tunes or 'distorted' re-harmonisation (e.g. *Three Greek Folk-Songs for Violin and Piano*, etc.). In any case the initial thematic material is set to variations in the – contextually – short or larger formal structure of each work.

2. *Skalkottas renews the thematic material when it reappears in the progression of the form.* (p. 89) This second observation is closely connected to the first one but also gives the actual context in which the composer through developing variation creates new material.

3. *Often the titles of dances have no relation to any known folk dance.* For eleven of the *36 Dances* Skalkottas used themes of his inspiration, with little or no relation to Greek folk-music (p. 75). For the arrangement for string quartet, Skalkottas chose six dances that have a direct relation to a known Greek folk-song (*Mariori*, *Mazochtos* – 'I shall become a swallow', *Nissiotikos* – 'A woman from Mylopotamos', *Tsamikos*, *Critikos*, *Tsamikos* – 'An eagle') and four dances with themes of his own inspiration (*Kleftikos*, *Arcadikos*, *Thessalikos*, *Ipirotikos*). The analogy is different in the arrangement for violin and piano, where he chose only two with known Greek folk-melodies *Mazochtos* – 'I shall become a swallow' and *Nissiotikos* – 'A woman from Mylopotamos'). This statistic observation proves that the kind of relation of a theme with a folk-tune is not the primary concern of the composer. A characteristic example from the first category of works, was the second movement of the *First Little Suite*, which used a tune from *Peloponniakkos Dance* and was entitled *Thessaliotikos*.

4. *Short forms and monothematic construction of dances meet the essential character of the folk prototype* (p.89). The concept of economy in formal structure has already been mentioned in the previous examples, but will be further analyzed in the following ones. In fact, it is the epitome of Skalkottas' thinking on Greek folk-music and it is a choice of composition often made by the composer.

5. Finally, the relation of Skalkottas' themes with the folk element is abstract and often distant (p. 94). This last observation matches perfectly with the paradigm of the *Third Movement of the First Little Suite for Violin and Piano*, in which the theme was extracted from ideas in previous movements but which remained folk-like. This distinct relation was observed in the previous analyses (Ia, Ic), but it also links with the second set of works analyzed later on. The broad and more abstract use of folk elements in Skalkottas' works is confirmed by the number of works in the following part of the present paper¹⁷.

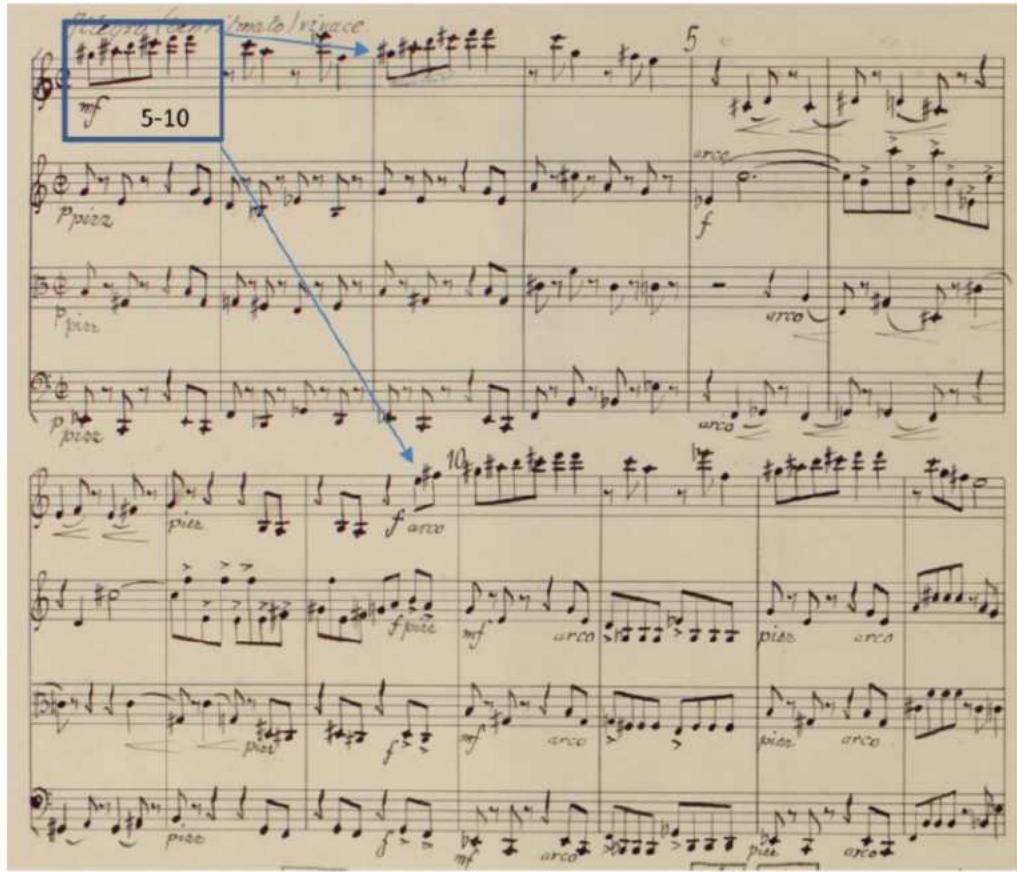
II. Selected analyses of works from the second table of works

IIa. Modality as a reference to Greek folk music

The first work of the catalogue, *Suite for Two Pianos* (1924), is the only tonal work comparable to the works in the first table, in terms of composition techniques and modal identity. Among the works with Greek folk identity, there exists a group of works, in which the diminished fifth Dorian formulation and especially the presentation of the first pentachord is a crucial feature of Greekness. This element connects the previous mentioned tonal work with the second work of the present table which is the third movement of the *First String Quartet* (1928) (Ex. 13).

This work is also connected with the *Eight Variations on a Greek Folk Theme* (Ia) and the fourth movement of the *Duo for Violin and Cello* (Ic) of the first table.

The difference between these realisations of the usage of folk elements is that in the *First String Quartet* the modal character, which is imposed in the voice leading of the first theme, is the only one having Greekness. However, in the unfolding of the thematic material in the frame of variation processes, this element takes an important role on the harmonic organisation of the musical surface and the modal interchanges which bring more modes.



Example 13. First String Quartet, third movement - bars 1-13

This type of reference is also found in the third movement, the *Scherzo of the Duo for Violin and Cello* (Ex.12). The atonal non-dodecaphonic idiom of the *Duo* is combined in the *Scherzo* with a modal melody which is based on the pentachord A-B-C-Db-Eb. The musical surface in the presentation of the basic idea is organised systematically according to the rules of complementarity where the melodic line of the violin combined with the recurring F makes the pitch-class set 6-z24, and the complement 6-z46 is found with the accompaniment.

This is how the composer completes the chromatic aggregate in the thematic core, having made clear that fundamental elements of the movement are modality and chromatism through complementarity. In fact, everything that follows in the A section of the movement is based from these twelve measures, and regarding the structural economy of the movement, according to which the middle small section (B) between the larger A type sections has connections to the material of A, it

becomes obvious that more than two hundred bars of music are based on this twelve-bar phrase. However, the previously mentioned chromatism is not only the result of complementarity. It is also an intrinsic feature of the initial modal idea. The following table contains the pitches of the various transpositions and variations of the initial idea in section A.

Example 14. Pitch content of subphrases in section A of the Duo

The basic pentachord A-B \flat -C-D \flat -E \flat is varied in section A and in some cases the added notes change the pitch content of the melodic line. For example, the initial 6-z24, which is rather neutral in terms of diatonic or chromatic character, is transmuted in more chromatic pitch-class sets, such as the 5-10 and the 7-4.

Actually, in the case of 5-10, the octatonic character of the idea is revealed and this fact drives attention away of a view of the melody as a tune derived from a famous folk-song.

Finally, it becomes obvious that the variations applied in the thematic core bring different aspects of the initial material to the surface. For example, chromatism often functions as a transitional element. In bars 34-38 the continuation of the melodic line, transposed by T5, moves chromatically from D to B and then to F, in which the next phrase starts.

Example 15. Duo for Violin and Cello - Scherzo - bars 33-38

In the re-exposition of material A (A'), the variations bring more differentiations in pitch content which tend toward chromatism. A characteristic example is the following:



Example 16. *Duo for Violin and Cello - Scherzo - bars 202-215*

The semitone has been a principal feature of the basic idea but with these bars it is isolated and used independently in all layers of the musical surface. As this example shows, the composer creates a fully chromatic context in which the rhythmic elements are reminiscent of the theme, more than the existing pitch-centrality can. So, it seems that the existence of modality and the diatonic pentachord remain the basic points of reference of the folk-song but they are not the only ones. Since the melodic line is based on a pentachord in a simple and economic manner, is sufficient. However, referential features include the existence of *isocrates*, the rhythmic element, and the technique of the violin which includes embellishments characteristic of folk violin, the characteristic figure with the repeated notes, and the separate bowings for the notes of a phrase.

Finally, it becomes obvious that the modal reference in the previous case is a significant factor of its folk-ish character. This is the case for other works in the second table, which have a relation to Greek folk-music. However, this is not obvious from the title of the work or from a direct connection to a specific folk-tune. This is found with the *March of the Little Soldiers* for Violin and Piano, *Nocturne* for Violin and Piano, *Scherzo* for Quartet with Piano and the Tenth (Rondo) of the Ten Sketches for Strings.

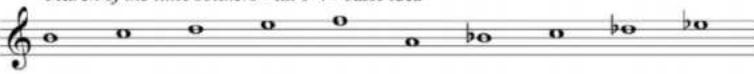
IIb. Other kinds of Greek references

However, beyond the similarity of modality, specific pentachords and atonal idioms that these works share, in every single case, there is a different retaliation of the usage of folk elements which either varies the modal material (*Nocturne*, *Scherzo for Quartet with Piano*) or combines the modal factor with other elements, such as characteristic motives (*Duo for Violin and Viola - Third Movement*), idiomatic techniques of the violin (*March of the Little Soldiers*, etc.), or rhythms (7/8 at the

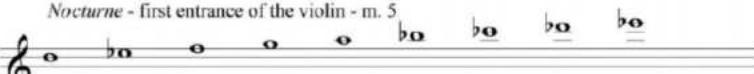
Rondo of the Ten Sketches, Third Movement of the Sonata Concertante for Bassoon and Piano, etc.).

At times, the usage of such elements does not mean that they are strong references. A characteristic example is in the *Third Movement of the Octet*, where in bars 51-64 the continuous change of $\frac{3}{4}$ and cut time meters gives the result of a seven-beat time, but the whole has no connection with folk-music.

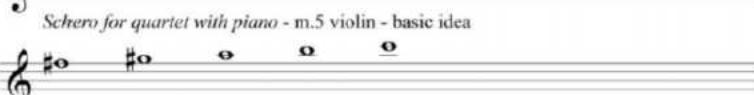
March of the little soldiers - m. 1-4 - basic idea



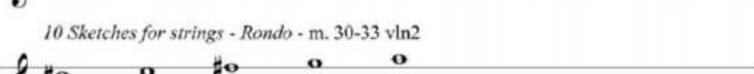
Nocturne - first entrance of the violin - m. 5



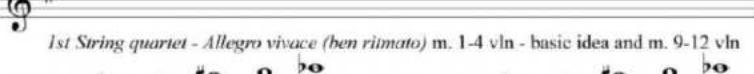
Scherzo for quartet with piano - m.5 violin - basic idea



10 Sketches for strings - Rondo - m. 30-33 vln2



1st String quartet - Allegro vivace (ben rimbato) m. 1-4 vln - basic idea and m. 9-12 vln



Example 17. Examples of modal elements used in five works

Other works which take a different place between the Hellenic ones, are the works of the so-called Concert Cycle¹⁸. This set of works is an example of Skalkottas' neoclassicism. The composer wrote a text¹⁹ which could be programme-notes for a concert including this set of works. In this manuscript, he highlights the entertaining and solo-istic character of these works. He also mentions the reference to folk-song in the *Rondo (Finale)* of the *First Quartet for three Winds and Piano*²⁰. The reference becomes clear right from the beginning with the presentation of the basic idea, by the trumpet (bars 1-6):



Example 18. First Quartet for three wind instruments and Piano - Rondo (Finale) - bars 1-3. Trumpet part

This melodic line through the diatonic hexachord C-D-E-F-G-A \flat and its variations in the following measures according to counterpoint rules, gives the sense of modality. This element is the basic connection to Greek folk-music and the modal context is never lost during the course of the movement, despite the transformation processes.

Another example from this set of works is the *Third movement of the Sonata Concertante for Bassoon and Piano*. This movement is organised as follows: A-B-A'-C-A"-Development-A-B-A'-C-Coda(A). In this large cyclic *rondo-sonata*-like form, sections A and B include either twelve-tone structures, or chordal elements, pitch-centric events, modal passages and other features found in such works, earlier in the present paper. On the contrary, sections type-C, which of course have a close relation with A and B through developing variation techniques, include all features connected with the way in which Skalkottas uses Greek elements. Modality at the melodic line, modal passages, chordal elements, prevalence of intervals of fourths at the upbeat and intervals of thirds at the accompaniment are combined with the meter of 7/8 or 3/8 alternating with 2/4.

In this manner and due to the combination of the instruments, the final result highlights once more the neoclassical character of the cycle of works for wind instruments which surpasses any reference to Greek melody. Even if a Greek tune is hidden inside the melodic lines and the thematic elements are not just folk-like, this is not corroborated in terms of modality, diatonism or chromatism, as it occurs in other cases of the examined material. Any kind of reference becomes subordinate to neoclassicism. This is also the case for the *Sonatina for Cello and Piano* (1949).

III

Presto ($\text{♩} = 120 - 126$)

Violoncello

Piano

Example 19. *Sonata Concertante for Bassoon and Piano* - *Presto* - bars 1-5; bars 91-94; bars 115-118

IIc. Self-reference

An example which differs from others in the second table is a work composed in Berlin in 1929, the *Second Sonatina for Violin and Piano*. Its three movements (*Allegro*, *Andante*, *Allegro vivace*) follow, in general, traditional norms as regards their formal organisation. It is an atonal work with chromatic and modal elements, but without significant tonal or pitch centres, which would be expected to come about as a result of modality and folk elements. Although the third movement may have some kind of reference to folk musical idioms, the focus for this category is on the first *Allegro*, because of the relation of the theme with one of the *36 Greek Dances*. In particular, the second thematic material is melodically identical to bars 22- 26 of the *Greek Danse* entitled '*Sifneikos – At Saint Marcella*'.

Example 20. *Sifneikos*, bars 22-27



Example 21. Second Sonatina for Violin and Piano. Second theme - Bars 28-31

Ex.20 In '*Sifneikos*' there is a passage played by horns and tubas, which is interrupted by wind instruments and strings. The piece presents the melody of the second theme, transposed by seven semitones (T7). The melodic relevance is clear and in the continuation of the theme (bars 34-37) the melodic line is given as in the dance because it is transposed by T7. However, there are similarities in the accompaniment as well. The idea of the semitonal movement as it is presented by the third and fourth horns of *Sifneikos*, is made in a different way in *Sonatina*. The accompanying harmony of the piano is based on this idea. In particular, the upper voices of the chordal sonorities descend chromatically and the lower ones ascend in the same way (bars 28-29). Also, semitones characterise the voice leading on the left hand of the piano.

Although the rhythmic patterns of the transitions of bar 28 to bar 29 and bar 30 to bar 31 remain unchanged (see tuba at *Sifneikos*), intervals change. So, the interval of the fourth which has a strong tonal direction (relation V-I), is replaced by a semitone which is the key element of the basic idea. In general, the modal or tonal relations between the voices of the dance are not far away from the theme of the *Sonatina*. The difference is that these elements are organically incorporated in a purely atonal context with very little diatonism. So, in the case of *Sonatina*, a self-reference is the element which introduces the Greek element, but neither the context of the work puts forth a folk or a folk-like character, as in works of the previous table, nor the melodic line is a folk or folk-like tune. This kind of reference is similar to the second movement of the *First Little Suite for Violin and Piano* (Ib).

IId. *The 1949 works – formal economy, modality and characteristic motifs in two different realisations*

In 1949 Skalkottas, among tonal works²¹ chose to turn towards serialism,

comparable to the turn of the 1930s. However, this turn is different with regards the way in which he uses dodecaphonism. Matzourani characterizes this kind of serialism as 'tonal serialism'²². Roberts focuses on the free use of the technique and symmetrical constructions, octatonic scales and tonal references in the works of this period²³. Furthermore, Zervos, focusing on the chamber music of these years (1945-49) mentions that the serial or freely serial twelve-tone idiom has, as distinguishing feature, either a neoclassical 'tonalisation' of the series, or a folkloric type of 'tonalisation' of the series, or a chordal treatment of the series²⁴. However, all these features are sometimes combined and it is not always clear if a work has only one type of 'tonalisation' or both the neoclassical and the folkloric. The two works in the present survey which belong to this 'last chamber works'-category are the *Bolero for Cello and Piano* and the *Second Little Suite for Violin and Piano*.

The *Bolero* is organised in an ABA form, and this formal plan is related to the strict serial organisation of the work which is based on hexachords. For example, in bars 1-4 the melodic line forms the 6-z50 hexachord and the piano accompaniment completes the aggregate with the 6-z29. In this way, the chromatic aggregate is completed in tandem with the end of a formal section.

The musical score for 'Allegro di Bolero' is a three-part setting for Violoncello, Piano, and Viola. The score is in 3/4 time. The Violoncello part (Vcl.) starts with a single note, followed by a rest, and then a melodic line consisting of eighth-note pairs. The Piano part (Pno.) provides harmonic support with sustained chords. The Viola part (Vc.) also contributes to the harmonic foundation. Hexachords are labeled throughout the score: '6-z50' for the Violoncello's melodic line in the first measure, '6-z29' for the Piano's chords in the second measure, '(simile)' for a similar pattern in the third measure, '6-z28' for the Violoncello's melodic line in the fourth measure, and '6-z49' for the Piano's chords in the fifth measure. Blue boxes highlight specific melodic and harmonic patterns across the staves.

Example 22. *Bolero for Cello and Piano* - bars 1-7

This serial structure is organically connected to rhythmic and melodic elements that are reminiscent of Greek folk-music. To start with, the melody of the cello line gives the impression of a modal melody in D (with the descending pentachord A-G#-F#-E♭-D), which ends at the note B—the sixth degree of a D mode. In the following measures, D remains the ‘tonic’ in bars 5-8 [(B, C,) D, E, F, G, A♭], but not in bars 9-15 (A, B, C, D, E♭, F, G and B, C#, D, E, F, F#, G#, A), and returns at the end of the A section with another mode [(C), D, E♭, F, G, A♭, B♭]. At the same time, the piano accompaniment includes the remaining notes to complete the chromatic aggregate in each case. The way in which this is achieved is largely by the use of diatonic chords (e.g. bars 1-4 includes the chords of C major and B♭ minor).

However, the modal context implied in the melody is not supported by the chords of the accompaniment; the aforementioned modes are different in every section; the multiple layers of the musical surface support the overall atonal sense, and the melody of the cello is not reminiscent of any famous folk tune. At the same time, modality is important for the organisation of the surface in terms of pitch structure, the melodic line includes motives and passages which are reminiscent of folk-music and the strong rhythmic character of the themes is a basic feature that allows suspicions for folk employment of elements. The initial dilemma therefore remains: is this a clearly neo-classical or a folkloric type of ‘tonalisation’ of the series?

The last work of the second table is the *Second Little suite for Violin and Piano* (1949) and includes three movements (*Poco lento-Moderato Molto, Andante, Allegro Vivace*). Unlike the *First Little Suite for Violin and Piano*, the titles of this suite have no reference to a particular folk-song. However, in every movement the Greek element is used in a very clear way, despite the free atonal idiom. In this work, Skalkottas abandons the idea of series, complementary sets and completeness of the chromatic aggregate in agreement with the formal structure, and organises the atonal surface on the basis of motivic and intervallic transformation.

The first movement consists of three sections, each starting with a *Poco Lento* virtuoso-rhapsodic passage. In fact, it is clearly monothematic since it is based on the continuous variation processes of the basic idea in bars 9-10

The overall formal plan resamples variations, but the third section recapitulates the content of the first. So, the movement is organised in a free cyclic form (A-A'-A), a highly cohesive structure characterised by the aforementioned economy of the

thematic material. The aforementioned economy concerns not only the absence of secondary thematic materials or of the formation of the themes, but also the way in which the opening thematic gesture is structured by a two-bars idea that is being varied immediately, as well as the way in which the slow section changes functions of the form.



Example 23. Second Little Suite. First movement - bars 9-13

The melodic line of the basic idea (bars 9-10) consists of the notes of a diatonic tetrachord (4-10), but the coherence in terms of pitch organisation is not based on the similarity of pitch-class sets. The transformation with intervallic modification and addition of one more voice in bars 12-13 has as a result a more chromatic realisation of the initial cell in the frame of its first presentation. The continuous intervallic variation of this cell in the following measures gives a great variety of pitch events and supports coherence and differentiation at the same time. Meanwhile, the composer also employs contrapuntal variation techniques such as diminution, augmentation, melodic inversion, etc. One characteristic example is the superimposition of a secondary theme given in the second section by the transposition and inversion of the basic idea.



Example 24. Second Little Suite. First movement - Bars 47-48

As a result, it becomes obvious that economy characterises not only the formal organisation at all levels, but also pitch structure and composition tools. From this point of view, this is the primary feature of the movement and at the same time it is the most characteristic feature of folk-music. Other such elements investigated are modality, folk-like character of the melody, idiomatic use of the violin, *ostinati*, diatonic elements in the accompaniment, dance character and rhythm.

The Second movement (*Andante*) of the *Second Little Suite for Violin and Piano* has many similarities with the first one in terms of structural economy. It is constructed on the basis of an idea, which in this case is the combination of intervals of thirds. The difference is that it is formed as a set of variations. It also concerns the relation to Greekness, which is achieved in a more introverted way, without folk-like melodies or rhythms. The clearly atonal melodic line of the violin brings to the surface, through variations, some modal passages in the course of the movement. A characteristic example is the diatonic-modal hexachord that comes to the surface with the violin in bars 19-20 – A-B-C-D- E \flat -F.



Example 25. Second Little Suite andante, bars 19-20

In this passage, Skalkottas diligently makes sure that this particular element is heard as textural means such as an F dynamic and a high register with the violin.

This modal perspective of the melody is supported by chords with the piano accompaniment (bar 18: Gm, bar 19: B, bar 20: B \flat m). However, the impression of a modal center is soon altered and the transformation procedures lead to more chromatic directions through the wide use of the semitone. The final result of the combination of modality, chromatism and diatonic elements is a Greek folk character which is realised in such a subtle way that becomes ambiguous. This reference is reminiscent of references in previous categories such as the *Rondo* of the *Ten Sketches* for example.

The Greek reference becomes clear and obvious again with the *Third movement (Allegro vivace)*, primarily due to the dance character of the theme. In accordance to the previous movements, this final movement is structured on the basis of continuous variations of one and only thematic idea. Transformation processes include transpositions, rhythmic, orchestral and textural changes, as well as intervallic and motivic transformation. The rhythm of the theme gives directly the

impression of a Greek fast dance and the idiomatic use of the violin has characteristic elements of folk violin. However, focusing on the pitch structure of the main melody, it becomes obvious that it is a rather folk-like tune, inspired by the composer. Specifically, in bars 1-4 all the chromatic tones from G to D are included (G, G#, A, Bb, B, C, Db, D). In bars 5-8 the tones of the melody create an eight-tone scale, which differs from a minor mode only in the eighth note: E-F#-G-A-B-C-D-Eb. In the following bars (bars 9-12), semitones are the basic intervals for the construction of the melody, presenting tones from A to F.

Example 26. Second Little Suite, third movement, main melody, bars 1-12

Thus, the theme consists of three phrases, of which the first and the third have a chromatic character while the second is more modal. These two features are those which alternate during the variations and the pitch content either leads to the one or the other. Meanwhile, diatonic elements such as chords, pitch centres and modal-tonal voice-leading come to the surface. All of the aforementioned elements are craftily borrowed from folk-music and they are organically included in a clearly atonal environment with chromatic elements. In comparison with the *First Little suite for Violin and Piano*, the second one seems to be of an essential nature of folk-music having the characteristics of the first in pitch-structural level, but organised economically in a formal structure comparable to folk constructions.

Discussion and conclusion

It can be concluded that, in general, Skalkottas' chamber music which includes Greek elements can be divided into categories based on the following criteria: a) the genre and the form of each work, b) the instruments of the ensemble for which it is composed, c) the time period of its composition, d) the idiom and e) the degree to

which Greekness becomes apparent (title, complete reference to a folk-song), or stays latent (as an indirect or even abstract reference to Greek music).

Having examined these two tables and the ways in which folk references function in each environment, the first important conclusion is that Skalkottas uses the same techniques and musical materials in both his direct and indirect references (point e). Either whole melodies or some of their characteristic elements have been fully assimilated into the completely personal idioms of the composer and the composition decisions he has made in each case.

Additionally, form is independent from the use of folk elements in a work, as it was shown in the works analyzed above. It has, however, also become obvious that a unifying principle has been an economy in formal structure.

As a result, the form has nothing to do with the existence of any reference to folk elements. Furthermore, neither the time period of its composition (c) can serve as a criterion because works listed in the two tables start from 1924 and end with the final year of the composer's life. With regards instrumentation, a prevalence for the violin is obvious and may be related to the idiomatic use described in some cases, but it is also true that Skalkottas used the violin in his chamber works very often. Lastly, the harmonic language seems to have had a secondary role as well (point d). One can find the same referential characteristics in both atonal, twelve-tone and tonal works, and techniques that are broadly used by the composer which do not change as much as the core of his composition mind. Thus, none of the aforementioned criteria can become a single factor for a strict categorisation of the works, the reason being that there is a multitude of ways in which these folk elements create connection between the works.

To sum up, the features discovered in the previous analyses have been:

- Rhythmic elements: time signature of a movement or of a specific passage or even certain rhythmic-melodic elements. Such elements appeared in almost all the works analyzed²⁵.
- Idiomatic use of the violin, in some cases with folk-like embellishments, and techniques reminiscent of folk violin. (Ia, Ib, IIb, IId in the present paper)
- Melodic structures based on specific tetrachords or pentachords which are used in folk music. (Ia, Ib, Ic, Id, IIa, IIb, IId). Whether Skalkottas varies an existing tune or invents a folk-like tune, there are similar sets on the musical surface which are

remarkable. (See also the recurrence of the set 5-10)

- Repeated notes, *ostinati* and pedal points ('*isokrates*') are techniques used very often. (Ia, Ib, Ic, Id, IIa, IIb, IId)
- Voice-leading with mid-endings or endings on specific degrees of the modes which resample equivalent endings in folk-songs. (Ia, Ib, IIa, etc.)
- Formal economy and purity. This feature is the most prominent as it comes to the elemental nature of folk-music. (Ib, Id, IIa, IId)

Undoubtedly, if all these features are combined in one work, this work is totally Greek-oriented. What happens, then, in the case of a work that has one or two of these elements? Furthermore, there is one more factor that have been little discussed in the previous analyses: diatonic elements in atonal-chromatic environments such as chords, tonal voice-leading, etc. To what extent could diatonicism indicate that the composer had another reference in mind? Is that reference clearly neoclassical? Or, is it more likely connected to an implicit modality? And then, we have other works that do have a connection to folk-music where the musical surface is totally chromatic, without any kind of diatonic features. This diversity, which was described in detail in the previous analyses, raises more questions than it provides answers and the different manifestations of tradition and innovation almost equal the number of the works presented (excluding the neoclassical cases and self-references), making a potential categorisation of works almost impossible.

At the same time, all these distinctions, diversities, and differentiations of tools, techniques, pitch events and formal constructions contrast with the unified world of each work. In his compositions, the composer has made decisions containing all of these features with different analogies in his highly personal style, which makes his case a unique one: romantic and neoclassical, atonal and tonal, Greek and German, and so on. As Skalkottas mentions in one of his writings referring to the personal styles used in the twentieth century: '*every composer can follow his own school*'²⁶. Furthermore, regarding the use of Greek elements Skalkottas mentions: the elaboration [of folk-music] will lead to a certain perfection of its overall form and to its general/overall meaning, modifying [the folk element] with technical freedom and with richness and this process is essential for a composer²⁷. This is exactly the way in which he thought about Greekness and perhaps further research in categorisation would be meaningless. Rather, the correct way to approach a kind of

categorisation would be a wide matrix in which works using Greek elements are connected with each other through the common characteristics that they share and, at the end, these common characteristics would connect the Greek works with the non-Greek (if those ones really exist), as Skalkottas has adopted the idea and the elemental nature of folk-music in an all-pervasive way.

END NOTES

1 Papaioannou, 1997; Romanou, 2009, p.177-178; Romanou, 2006, p.203.

2 His twelve-tone music has been studied among others by Matzourani, 2011, pp.81-378 and Alsmeier, 2001.

3 Zervos, 2008, pp.50-85.

4 See also Papagiannopoulou, 2019, ch. 1,6 and Tsougras, 2011.

5 See chapter 3 in John Thorneys entry 'Skalkottas, Nikos' in NG. Also, see Tsougras, 2008, pp.19-25; Tsougras, 2012, pp.87-108; Tsougras, 2014, pp.267-277; Sakallieros, 2012, pp.183-206; Tsetsos, 2013, pp.71-86 and Zervos, 2014.

6 Tsetsos, 2013, pp.72-73, 81-86; Maliaras 2012, p. 163, 184-185. See also Levidou, 2013, p. 508-510; Mantzourani, 2019, pp. 175-176 and Psychopaidi, 2003.

7 According to Matzourani, 2011, pp. 380-387. The same applies to Table 2.

8 In fact, in the Skalkottas Archive four different transcriptions of this particular song are found, either complete, or unfinished sketches of vocal or instrumental parts. The first shown in this example is a complete transcription of the vocal part of the song and the second one is an instrumental introduction of another transcription.

9 The final section is called *A Coda* because it consists of motivic repetitions of the basic idea of bars 1-2, in order to conclude.

10 Zervos, 2020, p. 138.

11 Christodoulou, 2019, p. 115. The reason for entitling the movement *Thessaliotikos* while the theme originates from *Peloponisiakos* remains a mystery.

12 Zervos, 2020b.

13 See Zervos, 2020b and Christodoulou, 2019, p.115.

14 In his analyses Tsougras introduces the term 'corrosion', which describes the aforementioned process accurately. See Tsougras, 2012, p.30.

15 1. *Potamos* [The river], 2. O *Elympos ki o Kissavos* (*Olympos* and *Kissavos*], 3. *Ande kimisou kori mou* [Sleep, my daughter]. These songs are original folk songs, which had been transcribed in various collections, such as Arion, Bourgault Ducoudray, etc. For a complete analysis of the 3rd song and a comparison with respective works by other composers see: Sakallieros, 2005, pp.19-26.

16 Christodoulou 2019, Levidou 2014, etc.

17 See also the 'assimilation' as a way of incorporating Greek elements mentioned in Mantzourani, 2020, pp.117-123.

18 This name was given afterwards by scholars who studied and spread the work of the composer.

19 Skalkottas' Archive. Works mentioned are the *Concertino for oboe with piano accompaniment*, *Concertino for trumpet with piano accompaniment*, *First Quartet for oboe, trumpet, bassoon and piano*, and *Tango and Fox-Trot for the same combination*. The *Sonata concertante for bassoon and piano* is not mentioned by the composer, but seems to belong to the set of works.

20 Skalkottas: The second movement is small and simple, and originates from a folk song...

21 *Classical Symphony in A* (1947), *Sinfonietta* (*Kleine Sinfonie*) in B \flat (1948), *The sea*, a folk ballet (1949), *Concertino in C major for piano and orchestra* (1948-49).

22 Matzourani, 2011, p.319.

23 Roberts, 1996, p.203.

24 Zervos, 2008, p.80.

25 See also: Hadjinikos, 2006, p.105 and Tsougras, 2007, pp.19-25.

26 Skalkottas, undated.

27 Skalkottas, 1938.

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A SCOT BARD IN THE EUROPEAN SOUTH: *Dionisios Rodotheatos's Opera Oitona (1876)*

*By: Kostas Kardamis**

In January 1876 the newspapers of Corfu commented, not only to the performances in the city's Municipal Theatre of operas belonging to the standard Italian repertory, ranging from Verdi's *Macbeth* and *Rigoletto* to Donizetti's *Lucia di Lamermoor* and the Ricci brothers' *Crispino e la comare*, but also to a new and original one-act opera by a local composer. The title was *Oitona*. The composer was Dionisios Rodotheatos. The plot was based on the *Ossianic sagas* and more precisely on *Nuath*.

In the context of a 19th century composition *Ossian* is by no means strange and Carl Dahlhaus perceived him as 'the patron saint of romantic music'¹. However, an *Ossianic* subject as basis for an original opera by a late 19th century Greek composer more than a century after *Ossian*'s invasion of European culture was somehow unexpected. For this reason, Rodotheatos's *Oitona* and its depiction of Scotland offers today the opportunity to discuss some rather obscure aspects of Greek 19th century and its relation to Western music.

Oitona is up to now, the only known use of a Scottish theme for an opera written by a Greek composer. Rodotheatos composed *Oitona* on the occasion of his appointment to the administration committee of the Corfu theatre, as an expression of gratitude to his fellow citizens. At the same time Rodotheatos was considered as one of the most promising young composers of his time. His musical knowledge was highly praised and in October of 1875 he had been appointed artistic director of the Corfu Philharmonic Society. Both the place and the time for the presentation of *Oitona* seem rather strange. Nonetheless, *Ossianic sagas* and especially their aura, as

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well as the romantic ‘Scotishness’, reached the shores of the Ionian Islands at least since the late 18th century and captivated the public imagination of their bourgeois inhabitants during the 19th century.

Thus, *Ossian* was no stranger in the 19th century Ionian Islands. However, this was not the case in mainland Greece. The Ionian intelligentsia played an important role regarding the dissemination of *Ossianic* poetry in the urban centres of mainland Greece, such as Athens, Syra and Patras. It is noteworthy that nearly all the published Greek translations of *Ossianic* works during the 19th century were from Ionian translators and most of them published in the Ionian Islands. The heyday for the translations of *Ossian* was between 1862 and 1886.

It is evident that as Italy, through Cesarotti’s translations, was a pioneer for the dissemination of *Ossian* outside of the United Kingdom. Back in 1763, Ionian Islands played the same role exactly a century later regarding the introduction of *Ossian* to mainland Greece. Panagiotis Panàs, the earliest systematic translator of *Ossian* in Greek makes an unequivocal remark in 1862 when he writes that despite the *Ossianic* poems express the sublime and the noble, Panàs made it clear that the motivation for attempting at his translations was his wish to make them known to the Greeks, who were ignorant even of the name *Ossian*².

It is of particular importance that Rodotheatos’s opera was presented on the culmination of this Greek interest for *Ossianic* and Celtic themes. However, was this an adequate reason for the composer to turn his creative interest to a Nordic plot? Not quite, especially if one takes into account that *Oitona* was translated into Greek as late as in 1880.

It is true that Dionisios Rodotheatos was not the average 19th century Greek composer. He took his first lessons in music during the 1850s with Nikolaos Mantzaros, as most Ionian composers at that time, but eventually followed a different path. Initially, Rodotheatos registered with the Neapolitan Conservatory of San Pietro a Majella. However, as soon as he had closer encounters with central-European musical trends and continued his studies at the Conservatory of Milan, probably between 1869 and 1874³, as well as in Vienna and Paris.

Milan was an Italian musical centre which was receptive to the aesthetic proposals of the ultramontane⁴. A prominent figure in this environment was the professor and director of the conservatory of Milan, Alberto Mazzucato, who believed that the

creation of national music could possibly be through the creative assimilation of the aesthetical ideas which came from outside the Italian border. During Rodotheatos's stay in Italy, chamber and orchestral music, frequently of Germanic origin, was performed more systematically. Wagner's *Lohengrin* had its Italian premiere in 1871 in Bologna, a city which played central role in the dissemination of his operas in the years to follow⁵. Nonetheless, performances of *Lohengrin* in Milan in 1873 caused problems among the audience. This cultural environment led Rodotheatos to the creation of both operas and symphonic music.

Mazzucato would have been one of Rodotheatos's teachers in Milan. After all, he left no doubt regarding their relationship⁶. It should be noted that *Mazzucato* had also been inspired by Scotland after hearing Walter Scott's *The bride of Lammermoor* which was the basis of his 1834 opera *La findanzata di Lammermoor*.

Ossian and others of Rodotheatos' works had a considerable influence on Italian opera since the late 18th century. The Italian peninsula was the first continental state to witness the *Ossianic* impact and musicians considered the revelation of Nordic subjects as new layers of feelings unknown to the south. In other words, *Ossianic* poetry and 'Scottishness' in general provided a decisive pivotal point to Italian opera towards its romantic period, as opposed to the rationalism of the 18th century. Walter Scott's novels became favourites of Italian librettists and composers. *Ossianic* subjects also became the basis of works from several early 19th century Italian composers. One of them, Pietro Generali, in his 1813 opera *Gaulo ed Oitona* used the same subject as Rodotheatos's almost seventy years later. *Ossian* and the connotations of his poetry contributed to the formation of opera both in Germany and in France, states which also played decisive influences for Rodotheatos's musical education.

On the other hand, *Oitona* seemed to have been one more composition in a series of works by Rodotheatos which aimed to demonstrate the creative qualities and the ideas of Germanic music in the European South or, at least, the way these were perceived through an Italian filter. Rodotheatos' three symphonic works, all of which composed before 1874, seemed to have paved the way within both the Italian and Greek musical environments. It is of particular importance that in 1877 Rodotheatos, who was 27 years-old, was considered in his homeland as a prominent Wagnerian expert⁷, something that should not be taken lightly, especially if one takes

into account that Wagner and his theories made their appearance in the Greek press as early as 1863⁸. Nevertheless, Wagnerian music dramas were absolutely unknown as full-scale works in Greece. The first Wagnerian work which was given in Greece was *Lohengrin* in 1902, again, in Corfu. Before, selected excerpts of Wagnerian operas were among the repertoire of Greek orchestras and wind bands. However, the 'Wagnerian question' was raised in Greece only with journalism, as a result of the controversy regarding Wagner in France. The result of this approach was that most music-interested Greeks knew Wagner as a barbarian composer, who came to destroy Rossini's, Bellini's, Donizetti's and Verdi's melodramatic masterpieces with loud trumpets, timpani, brass and everything that could make one agitated and deaf even the most impregnable listener⁹.

However, Wagnerian ideas were reaching Greece¹⁰, and both *Ossian* and Rodotheatos seemed to have made up the perfect match for this occasion, since they combined a Nordic libretto with a champion of Germanic music. The operatic 1876 season in Corfu was also favouring 'Scottishness', since Verdi's *Macbeth* had been performed some days before *Oitona* and Donizetti's *Lucia* were coming next. However, the performance of *Rigoletto*, Ricci's *Crispino e la comare*, Gounod's *Faust* and –probably– Flotow's *Martha* proved that the impresario of the theatre was eagerly trying to balance staging between well-established works and compositions demonstrating novel concepts.

The unknown librettist of Rodotheatos seemed to have followed the same trend, since the libretto of *Oitona* has little to do with the stereotypical harps-and-bards of the *Ossianic* plots. To the contrary, the libretto, although presenting the characters and basic dramatic constituents of *Ossian's* work, focuses on the conventional melodramatic qualities of the *Ossianic* story. Rodotheatos's opera is again the story of a soprano (*Oitona*), who loves a tenor (*Gaulo*) and is harassed by a bass (*Duromante*). The characters meet on a Scottish island, where the tenor challenges and kills the bass. Additionally, the soprano loses her life since she joined in the fatal battle dressed as a male fighter. As it had been pointed out, Macpherson's heroines are great ones for slipping into armours¹¹. However, this Scottish subject depicts on stage some central important the 'topoi' of 19th century music, namely a melancholic atmosphere, the honour of chivalry, self-sacrifice and, of course, the noble love though full of pessimism.

In this respect, *Oitona* and its Scottish plot provided an alternative approach to the musical romanticism of Greece. Until that time Greek composers were expressing a rather introverted perception of what was called romanticism through idealised patriotic operatic plots based on the Greek Revolution, or the use of folkloric elements as structural parts of their compositions. Rodotheatos's opera features an alternative way, which at the same time is intended for a Greek audience, but also provides a sense of universality and an extroversive expression within 19th century musical trends.

However, the libretto for *Oitona* is not in Greek, as would have been expected, but in Italian, despite the publications of *Ossianic* translations in Greek at that time. In 1876, newspapers described a situation which tantalised the prospect of performing a libretto in Greek at least since 1827 and wrote that in Greece today, in case some composers created a melodrama, they were obliged to write it in Italian, for Western singers, since a theatre for Greek melodrama had not been formed here yet. The journalist also pointed out that the 1867 opera *The Parliamentary Candidate* by Spyridon Xindas, the first full-scale opera in Greek, fell into oblivion, because it was written in Greek. Some months earlier, Rodotheatos agreed with this matter. In September 1875 and in view of the publication of three of his Italian songs, Rodotheatos was asked why he did not use Greek. His response was that because and regrettably, Greek compositions in Greece are not favoured¹².

Thus, according to the journalist, the Celtic plot posed no particular problem of acceptation as part of the emerging Greek opera, but the language formed a red line in order to consider it national. In view of this, it is important to note that back in 1862 Panás found no obstacle in dedicating his Greek translations of *Ossian's* poems to three victims of the military movement which eventually deposed King Otto of Greece. The ideas behind *Oitona* and Panás's dedication seem to express two different aspects of the same attitude towards the place of *Ossianic* poetry in 19th century Greece.

About the music of *Oitona*, the press said that it was passionate, full of sentiments, and in some instances, especially in the particularly beautiful tenor and soprano duet. Regrettably this is the only direct information for the music of *Oitona*, since the score of the opera remains lost. Nonetheless, Rodotheatos' symphonic works might offer a glimpse into the music of *Oitona*¹³. Rodotheatos'

symphonic poems are based on character motives, but the conventional Wagnerian components are only marginally traceable in the melody or harmony. On the contrary, several elements of Italian, French and German (in their wider perspective) mid-19th century music are evident and contribute to rather eclectic musical compositions in which the dominant European trends are creatively assimilated in order to produce original works that also allow substantial space for their composer's personality.

About the structure of the opera, the existing libretto suggests a music divided into numbers. This is further supported by remarks in the press according to which after the end of each piece the theatre broke into enthusiastic applause and acclamations to the composer. The structure of the work, also, constituted the focal point of the only critical observation regarding the opera, which was rather an exhortation for its development, than a negative opinion. The one and only act of this melodrama is too big and tires the singers, who sing for one hour continuously. Apart from that, a plot such as *Oitona* is not treated accordingly in one act. So, it would be appropriate for the composer to add skillfully two or three more scenes and to divide the opera in two acts, after having its developments.

Rodotheatos responded to this idea almost immediately by turning to the abilities of a well-known champion of the Greek language opposed to Italian and Catholic cultural propaganda in the Ionian Islands during late 19th century. He was the poet and political activist Stylianos Chrysomallis (1836-1918) who prepared a four-act version of *Oitona* for Rodotheatos¹⁴. Despite Chrysomallis's beliefs the libretto for this second and expanded version of *Oitona* was again in Italian. The nationalist environment in Greece during 1870s and 1880s, as well as the librettist's ideology, did not affect again the language of the libretto. This extended version of *Oitona* was ready by June 1876 and its premiere was scheduled for the forthcoming 1876-1877 season, either in Greece or most probably in Italy¹⁵. Nonetheless, only two of the four acts of this new version were performed in Corfu during the 1881-1882 season, and by an Italian troupe. Previously, *Oitona* in its four-act version, represented Greece, along with other musical compositions by Greek composers, at the Paris International Exposition of 1878¹⁶.

To conclude, the performance of *Oitona* in Corfu in 1876 was far from being considered coincidental. An already existing interest for *Ossianic* poetry in the

Ionian Islands since the late 18th century, as well as the particular occupation of Ionian intelligentsia with the translation of *Ossian*'s works in Greek during the 1870s and 1880s paved the way for the appearance of *ossianic* manners in fine arts, poetry and literature from the Ionian Islands. It was a matter of time for music to incorporate *Ossian*, its plots and the atmosphere of its works, since the Ionian Islands had also demonstrated an important and original creative output in music since the late 18th century. The particular importance of the *ossianic* style in 19th century music, its a-historic plots, the popularity of 'Scotishness' within Italian opera, as well as the dissemination of Germanic music in the European south during the late 19th century should also be added to the reasons that led to the creation of Rodoheatos' *Oitona*.

Rodoheatos has encountered all of these trends during his studies in Milan, Vienna and Paris. Through his opera, as well as through his symphonic music, Rodoheatos seemed to have attempted the introduction of these musical novelties in Greece, beginning with his native town, Corfu. This might offer an adequate explanation for the enthusiastic reception of *Oitona* by the youth of Corfu. The year when *Oitona* was first performed is also important since Wagnerian operas and their foggy plots were still a novelty in Italy and in that very year Wagner was preparing the legendary production of the *Ring Circle*, as was published in the Greek press¹⁷. At the same time, Rodoheatos' *Oitona* offered an alternative approach to Greek opera, away from the introspective patriotic and folkloric connotations of earlier Greek melodramas. *Oitona* and *Ossian* connected Greek opera with some of the central ideas of 19th century music and offered a direct and extroversive connection of Greece to the "European musical canon". In this sense, the use of a Celtic plot, which at the same time did not betray the popular operatic decorum and allowed space for the development of the composer's creativity according to new endeavours and musical eclecticism, offered an interesting approach regarding the presence of Scotland as South as 19th century Greece. Nonetheless, the Greek Kingdom already in the 1870s was experiencing the pressure of the so-called Slavonic danger and works such as *Oitona* had little to offer towards the musical expression of a nation, which was going to be in state of war for the next fifty years.

END NOTES

1 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, J. Bradford Robinson (trans.) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 166.

2 Panagiotes Panàs, *Dartoula, Latmos. Poiemata tou Ossianou. Dartbula, Latmos. Poems by Ossian*. (Kefalonia, 1862), a.

3 The only known photograph of the composer (General State Archives of Corfu), as well as his *romanza La pentita* (Music Archive of the Corfu Philharmonic Society) are dated 'Naples, 1869' and the *polka-mazurka Elvira* bears the date 'Naples, 1868' (Music Archive of the Corfu Philharmonic Society), whereas his *romanza* for tenor. *La mia stella* on poetry by Filippo Villani was published by Ricordi in Milan. On the other hand, sources of the Philharmonic's administrative archive suggest that in 1874 Rodotheatos had returned to Corfu permanently. This is further implied by Rodotheatos' initiation in the 'Pythagoras' Masonic Lodge of Corfu (6/5/1874), in which he was also the organist until at least 1877. Information kindly provided by the researcher Theodore Kalogeropoulos.

4 Mariangela Donà, 'Milan: 19th century', *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (NGD), 29 vols (London, Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), xvi, pp. 663-666.

5 Thorough discussion in Claudio Santini, Lamberto Trezzini, 'La questione wagneriana', in Lamberto Trezzini (ed.), *Due Secoli di Vita Musicale: Storia di Teatro Comunale di Bologna* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1987), pp. 101-158.

6 Giorgos Leotsakos, 'Rodotheatos, Dionysios', Universal Biographical Dictionary (Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1991), 9a, p. 91. Nonetheless, an *in situ* research at the Milan Conservatory will decisively contribute towards the clarification of Rodotheatos' relation with Mazzucato.

7 According to the historian Lavrentios Vrokinis in 1877. See, 'Lavrentios Vrokinis: Collective Works. Biographical Sketches', in Kostas Dafnis (ed.). The Corfu Chronicles XVI (Corfu, 1972), pp. 173-178. See, also, Ioannes Foustanos, *Harmony and Melody* (Ermoupolis, 1887), p. 83, and the newspaper of Corfu I Foni 1147 (4/6/1887), pp. 3-4 and p. 1148 (11/6/1887), pp. 3-4. Rodotheatos' fame was still evident at least four years after his death. See Georgios Tsokopoulos, 'The Fine Arts: Our Music', Greece during the Olympic Games (Athens, 1896), pp. 346-349 and 349.

8 See, Angelos (pseudonym of Angelos Vlachos), 'Wagner and his music reformation', Chryssalis I-6 (15/3/1863), pp. 185-190.

9 Nikos Bakounakis, *Italikes Nychtes (Italian Nights)* (Athens: Kastaniotes, 2001), p. 32, quoting Georgios Drosines.

10 A thorough presentation and elaboration on the reception of wagnerian ideas in 19th-century Greece see Stella Kourmpana, *Opseis tou wagnerismou ston elleniko 19o aiona. Aspects of wagnerism in the Greek 19th century*, unpublished doctoral thesis, (Corfu: Ionian University-Department of Music Studies, 2017).

11 Roger Fiske, *Scotland in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.

52. 12 'Eparchiakai Eideseis', *Provincial News*, Ephemeris 249 (6/9/1875), p. 3.

13 All three of them are held in the Music Archive of the Corfu Philharmonic Society.

14 Eirene A. Dentrinou, 'E Kerkyraike Schole'. *The School of Corfu*, Kerkyraikà Chronika III (1971), 81.

15 'Eideseis'. News, Ephemeris 154 (2/6/1876), p. 3.

16 La Grèce et l'exposition de 1878. Catalogue des exposants de la Grèce, (Athènes: Imprimerie de la Philocalie, 1878), pp. 6-7.

17 'Eideseis', Ephemeris 225 (12/8/1876), p. 1. Report regarding the performance of Rheingold in Bayreuth. 'Eideseis', Ephemeris 226 (13/8/1876), p. 3. Regarding Die Walküre and Siegfried based on reports from the Journal des Débats. 'Eideseis', Ephemeris 232 (19/8/1876), p. 3.

ART MUSICS OF THE ORIENT: *Or the time for recognition*¹

*By: Amine BEYHOM**

Tradition

Zad Moulata, a Franco-Lebanese composer, wrote an article about the evolution of music. It was based on Darwinian and Lamarckian theories, and was particularly focused on the 'The Betrayal of Maqām'. There he shakes down traditions and writes that '*[...] as for the approach towards tradition, it is difficult to identify what applies to a connection with some sacred indisputable law which would relate to the notion of habit and would somehow be linked to some mental idleness or existential comfort. In both cases, the risk of suffocation is imminent*'².

It is easy to criticise this opinion. However, it would seem benign should we compare it to Jules Rouanet's racist speech where he said that '*[...] the Arabian race [...] rejects every cerebral effort, every arduous task, every laborious thought as well as any hard to follow abstract suggestion*'. Rouanet went on claiming that the arabesque is the³ main component of Arabian music⁴ and has a form of intellectual origin where an abstract idea is objectified through digits as a geometrical form! An essential characteristic of Arabian civilisation is either their incapability of following an abstract suggestion, or their inability of understanding abstraction. Furthermore, according to the same author, Arabian art music is '*a composite art [... an] art of mystics, [... an] art of contemplatives, [... and an] art of fatalists*'⁵.

Whence does this negative and rather incoherent attitude towards this music come and how could such a much-despised tradition generate so much fascination from the people who so vehemently criticised it in the first place?

But first, of which tradition are we talking about? Is it the oral tradition which passed from one generation to another, from master to pupil or is it the tradition which developed in the last century from a generation of musicians and pseudo-

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musicologists? It would have been the same people who followed the 1932 Cairo Congress and enforced an absurd approach to music and musicology (taking advantage of an efflorescence of musical formation and notation) the only purpose of which being the ‘harmonisation’ of Arabian music through equal quarters of equal temperament tones⁶?

Rouanet expressed himself in the context of the already late colonisation of the Moghrib, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, however, the thinking of Moulata, which I believe to be sincere, leads us to question ourselves about this tradition presented in multiple ways, including with the officials in power in Arabian countries which are principally represented by what was rightly called ‘conservatories’, and their teaching, but also with higher music institutions within public or state universities.

As representatives of Arabian musicology, we should start by admitting our own errors. Until recently, in the history and origins of these musics, our own theoreticians were busy creating links with dominant musical theories from Ancient Greece, (Ibn Sīnā, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, etc.) or from Occidental or Byzantine theories for more recent periods, not forgetting, of course, Turkish theories of the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. These links dimmed the musical brilliance of Saffiyuddīn al-Urmawī whose theory was a transformation of Pythagorean theory, while his original idea questioned a fundamental argument already stemming from his predecessors as to how adjacent intervals connected to the fourth?

Poor alternatives methods explaining maqāmian modality resulted in a teaching of music which by-passed the essence of Arabian music as it resides in the complex structure of its intervals. The following two examples will better clarify the problem. Up to now, the teaching syllabus for the *‘ūd* as taught at the National Higher Conservatory of Beirut focused for the first three years on studying major and minor modes and their instrumental⁷ transpositions. This recent evolution was nothing more than another step towards the annihilation of maqāmian specificities. It could be that musicologists moderated these radical positions and assured some authenticity, at least, for this theoretical teaching. Unfortunately, books of theory⁸ refer to a global music taught as a prelude to a theory of Arabian music, being nowadays a substitute for Occidental theory.

Outside conservatories, and quite frequently in many recent manuals, references to the tonal system as being ‘natural’ that is born from the theory of resonance, are found. These references have cast Arabian modes into the category of ‘artificial modes’ for the unique reason that their fundamental scale is not based on the major mode.

What makes our musicologists more royalists than the king and what drives them to use these problematic definitions, whereas Western musicology learned some time ago to rid of old clichés about theories of tonality? Why insist at denying Zalzalism¹⁰ while holding onto defunct theories – to say the least – in the context of Near- Eastern music? There is nothing as closed as a closed mind.

As musicologists of the *maqām*, a term which comprises all traditional musics and practices in the regions where practiced, we are responsible for its current decay both in its practice and its teaching. As Arabian musicologists, we have misled present generations, imposed incoherent definitions, reductionist theories, and encouraged the breakdown of traditional music, which in its current state surely cannot be taken as a reference for musicians who sincerely wish to learn and return to the sources of tradition. As musicologists of the *maqām*, we have laid our horizon only towards Western harmony and equal temperament. Thus, we have strongly restrained our students’ and musicians’ horizons.

Why did we fail in our educative mission; fail in our duty of transmitting knowledge; fail in elaborating theories and developing concepts that were supposed to follow the renewal of a tradition which we were meant to protect?

The natural trend in a country such as Lebanon, would be to blame the ‘outsider’, to advocate accountability on a ‘foreign conspiracy’. It would be easy to say ‘it’s the Italians’ fault’. Poor Italians, who never had anything to do with it¹¹.

It would be too easy to accuse Western musicology for all the wrongs of Arabian musicology and thus absolve ourselves from our own responsibilities. Western musicology was built from tonal music. It clashed during territorial expansions which went along with the industrial revolution, with various different cultures which spread in countries which were on very low levels socially, economically and culturally. Western musicology tried to explain these ‘weird sounds’ and incomprehensible convolutions of melodies in a blend of emotion, emergency and shock.

Within this context we can understand racial statements and reactions from Rouanet when he said it was not possible to describe music which could not be heard, or felt, and when musicians could not even describe it in a reasonable¹² manner? I believe that Rouanet was a disappointed lover of Arabian music, a fervent admirer who found himself in front of a decaying culture and coped with it in the only way his culture allowed him, that is rejecting Arabian music and all that it represented¹³.

Because Western musicology evolved rapidly, it is not surprising that it included incoherent affirmations about the Arabian musical system, starting with early attempts of moderns such as Laborde, Villoteau, Fétis and Chailley¹⁴ more recently. The latter was influenced by his Arab students and the revival of their postcolonial culture. He listened to a diversity of popular music through modern technology. He was only able to face this information fighting a rearguard action based on four truths. The first said that the heptatonic system was the reference; the second that diatonism, tonality and modality were only justifiable through the cycle of Pythagorean fifths, the third truth was the resonance theory; and fourthly that all exceptions¹⁵ to the former rules were explained via the phenomenon of tolerance¹⁶. It is only normal that a given culture tries to preserve its existing privileges, especially when opponents such as *maqām* musicologists do their best to prove and demonstrate the privileges of that culture with their own musical theories and traditions.

Obviously, Western musicology could be blamed for its attempts at relating any world music to its system, even with incoherent theoretical demonstrations. Western musicology could also be blamed for pursuing the denial process pertaining to the influence of Arabian music onto European music, at least since the Middle Ages. Additionally, the everlasting criticism of the Zalzalian systems from ecclesiastic Oriental traditions on religious music in Europe, especially with the rise of Christianity. Finally, we may condemn reluctance of this musicology to admit common traits between popular European and *maqāmian* music, hence the condemnation of Orientalists and their rejection and belittling of otherness.

However, in as much as Western musicology could be blamed it cannot be rational because it is the normal course of things. It is only normal that this musicology defended itself and analysed its own music, its own culture and not ours. For decades we have attempted at learning how. Despite, Western musicology has

been trying to get out of this frame and tried to understand and explain the otherness of foreign cultures through ethnomusicology, a very specialised Western field.

Yet, this ethnomusicology which should in principle be concerned with extra-Western music including traditional or popular music is still struggling to define, understand and explain the art music of the Orient.

There is one main problem with the relation of ethnomusicology to popular music which is considered to be last relics of live cultures close to the eradication of post colonisation.

It may seem peculiar that the urgent need for preservation which should have protected the remaining musical cultures in order to shed light on some modern problematics, did not arise. From this position of a so-called classical ethnomusicology, the reluctance in studying extra-European music from a diachronic and synchronic approach is certainly to the advantage of topographic and anthropologic thumbnails.

Downplaying the whole scene with Bartok's works followed by Braileiou's ethnomusicology, huge steps have been made towards applying special analytical methods of popular music in Europe and elsewhere. However, should these methods be appropriate for extra-European art music, even if this tonal music were frequently neither systematised nor theorised? It is doubtful, especially when reading specialised¹⁷ works about Arabian music, speckled with errors, theoretical or historical guesses and even with inconsistencies. It is as if the physical and cultural distance encouraged the analytical approach to art music such as with Iran, India or China.

However, prior to engaging in further easy criticism we should consider what Arabian musicologists have achieved to come closer to wide heptatonic modality groups to understand and be inspired by them?

Not much, for sure. There are no known specialists for Indian or Iranian music or even for the neighbouring parts of the world such as Turkey, in any of our institutions, schools, conservatories; and for sure none in the Lebanon. How sad is this reality when the need to teach about these musics arises and when we look at Western studies and at all the references written for their understanding, and whenever these musics and *maqām* are related and may well have very sprouted from

the same stem.

The contemplation of the musicological assessment of the Arabs during the last centuries is appalling. We have abdicated on our uniqueness; we ran away from our responsibilities and deceived all who waited foolishly for our encouragement to pursue the quest for the comprehension and the development of our music. Instead, we locked ourselves in a dominant-dominated scheme. Since the caliphs and the splendid Golden Age in Baghdad, the Arabian empire has absorbed the dominating cultures while fostering a synthesis of their music. The whole of this process resulted in what we call today Arabian art music. Then after, with the decay of the Arabian Empire while Ottomans were rising fast and until the end of colonisation, all we did was tagging along with others' cultures and theories.

Some would say that it is only normal and fair. However, under the Ottoman power, specificities for each music were preserved for they were much similar to the musical system of the Empire, whereas the cultural clash we find between harmony, equal temperament and art music of the Orient could not be overcome. Few characteristics of Mediterranean musical traditions survive nowadays. There were many such as monody, modality, Zalzalian intonation, verbal rhythmics, improvisation, heterophony and so on. Monody shrunk to the rare domains of Coranic recitation and some liturgical chants in a few churches where harmony is still unknown. Modality follows the path of tonal music where Zalzalian intonations disappear and are replaced with equal temperament tense diatonism. Improvisation survives in some sort of instrumental *taqṣīm* mockery which repeats itself from one cliché to another.

We may continue complaining about the status of this collapsed Arabian music, attacked from everywhere by modernisation, globalisation and neocolonialist values. This music is now sluggishly transmitted and learned as a habit or convenience.

The most important point after this diagnosis that may be judged severe but meticulously put together, is to understand the way and means to remedy for the past and current errors, to find the tools and bring back to our students the desire and pride of their musical traditions. How may we, musicologists, contribute to the inspiration of our musicians, to bring before them alternatives for this modernity which is only an aspect of the cultural domination imposed by globalisation?

At least we should be able to teach musicians what pertains to tradition and what

is disguised to look like it. This tradition which is barely within the reach of memory is slowly becoming unreachable.

Memory loss is a revealing sign, a stigma of profound dysfunctional societies and traditions.

An alternative musicology

We might rightfully wonder why would any university, any musicologist or musician, would wish to engage with such poor musicology lacking of its own cultural references but which should at least propose alternatives to the decay of its traditional music. Fortunately, this equation is changing. In the last decades a new project has been rising steadily, a general musicology applied to all artistic musical traditions in the Orient. This came as a result of the de-cluttering of epistemological approaches to Western musicology, along with the emergence of a generation of native researchers having studied new approaches to traditions in the West. In addition, field ethnomusicologists have had a growing interest for art music.

Native researchers started in-depth studies about the initial syncretism of music around the Mediterranean. They created more adequate tools and methodologies to emphasize the specificities of a given music in its tradition. This new line of work developed with universities (including in the West), musicologists, research centres specialised in other forms of art music (such as India, Turkey, Iran). All these efforts will contribute to the creation of analytical tools for these musics, but also for European monodic music, particularly Mediaeval and Ecclesiastical. This type of co-operation can also be undertaken with individual traditional musicians, notably of popular music.

Efforts should be put in digitising, collecting and displaying via the internet all manuscripts related to *maqām* music, wherever these manuscripts may be.

Oral transmission of tradition should be performed aided by technological means such as recorders. This would progressively dispense with the need for complex scores, which are obstacles to the creative reviving of this music. It is necessary not to forget ancient musical instruments, especially those which were replaced by Western instruments and others which are no longer trendy. Research followed by their making should put them back onto the musical scene. It goes without saying that training our future musicologists is an essential part of this whole revival process.

This proposed work program is a minimum that should be undertaken on a musicological level. We should train our students to use tested and proven methods of the West and inform them of the cumulated experience of Western musicology in all its aspects. Dialogues should be initiated to share opinions and experiences with musicologists in Iran, Turkey and India. We may help each other to better understand our musics. This is the essence of cooperation. It is time to work and place the specificities of Arabian musicology on the world panel, and the only way is persuasion which is only efficient through action and continuous quest for excellence.

‘Lebanon, land of memories, full of shades’
(Maurice Barrès).

Conclusion: The time of recognition

The world of musicology is effervescent. Nowadays few disciplines are questioned as much, a trend that Jean-Jacques Nattiez (2006), a reputed musicologist, recommended in order to blend cultural and historical particularities of any musical practice, in which way the unity found in musicology can base itself on the unity in its musical practice. He also proposed that ‘there are no reasons to oppose as incompatible, cultural-historical specificities of a music and the quest for universals of music.

This quote is symptomatic of a dominant culture which is used to think about universals, given that everything universal, normal in some sort, applies mainly if not exclusively to this culture. In the four most important categories of musicology, according to the same author, namely historical musicology, ethnomusicology, musical analysis and music psychology, many contradictions appear. One major sign is the absence of extra-European musical traditions which seem to be cast away as a sub-field of ethnomusicological research. What is certain is that the boundaries between these four categories are not sealed: should historical research remain uncoupled from musical practice and analysis, with extra-European music, it will throw back the discipline to periods of sterile erudition and simplistic Orientalism. No boundaries between musics are sealed. Western music (and musicology) influenced extra-European music and others, not to speak about mutual influences between different musics of the Orient. From this perspective, we

request a reconsideration of the concept of universals in music. Does the universal need to blend cultural characteristics? In this case, with what should it be blend? Within a general musicology resulting historically from one music, whose dominant traits are incompatible with the majority of the remaining music?

These questions are among the many in need of answers. They shall lead the way to building a true generalist musicology unfolding in two branches, one historical and one analytical. The first would include diachronic systematism and the second would take care of all specifics and analytical available techniques. In this respect extra-European musicology will assimilate the best of Western musicology and contribute to the elaboration of a general musicology where art music of the Orient would become a pillar and a reflective catalyst.

I wish to propose another path dedicated particularly to my Lebanese countrymen as it questions the role of Lebanon in world culture. Can we continue to think ourselves as a hyphen, an intermediary between Orient and Occident? In this position, is it possible for a hyphen to bear a unique personality?

With the title of this article, the time for recognition is up to us. Let us recognise the efforts and let us be grateful to masters who taught and advised us generously; let us be grateful to those who kept the tradition alive despite the difficult times and were able to transmit the tradition; but let us especially be grateful to this new musicology born from cooperating skills between Orient and Occident as this musicology will have much to do in the future.

END NOTES

1 The original French article is an enhanced version of the author's lecture at the colloquium 'Traditions musicales au carrefour du systématique et de l'historique : prolégomènes à une musicologie générale des traditions' that was held in June 2006 and published in 2007 in the *Revue des Traditions Musicales des Mondes Arabe et Méditerranéen (RTMMAM n°1)*, publications of the ISM-UPA, Baabda – Lebanon, 2007, p. 13-26. This article is freely translated from this enhanced version by Rosy Azar Beyhom.

2 Mouliska, October 2005, p. 67.

3 Rouanet, 1922, p. 2937-2939. He adds also 'Arabian music is made from successive arabesques', 'In [Arabian] music, the arabesque is dominant', 'Arabian music is made from repetitions, like the other Islamic arts'.

4 The influence of arabesque in Arabian music is questioned (see Mejri, 1998).

5 Rouanet, 1922, *loc. cit.*

6 See for example Bacha, 2000.

7 See Rouhana, 2001.

8 Even those of the conservatories. See Ghalmieh, Kerbage & Farah, 1996.

9 Hage, 2005, pp. 11-12: 'The tonal system is the best exploited system [...] the reason being that tonality activates and "systematizes" the laws of the resonance theory which are carved in nature by the creator himself', he adds that 'Arabian modes comprise [...] artificial modes' which 'comprise corruption in their constitution' knowing that 'in the natural modes, the octave is divided into 7 intervals (5 tones and 2 diatonic semi-tones) with "always an exact interval of fifth between the 1st and the 5th degree".

10 Zalzalian intervals are so called in relation with Mansūr Zalzal, 'ūd player in the second half of the 8th Century. The Zalzalian adjective corresponds to every interval outside the strict semi-tonal frame, especially the slightly augmented second (approximately 5/4 of the tone) in the *hijāz* tetrachord or any other odd multiple of the approximate quarter tone (such as thirds, fourths, fifths whether neutral or slightly augmented or diminished).

11 This paper was written before the war of summer 2006 in Lebanon. Of course, things have changed both on political and musicological levels.

12 Understandable by Westerners.

13 Let us not forget the reactions of some musicians and musicologists to extra-European music and cite for example Schaeffner, 1994, p. 13, and most specially Berlioz, 1862, p. 278-279, 284: '[Chinese people] have a music that we find abominable, excruciating. They sing like dogs yawning, like cats throwing up when they eat a bone; the instruments they use to accompany their singing seem to us true torture instruments.' Rouanet's comments aren't less terrible, since he listened to authentic Arabian music and notated it at some point.

14 See Chailley, 1967 (reed. 1996), 1985 and 1996.

15 Exceptions to these rules would be the hundreds of scales (see Beyhom, 2003), the various divisions of the octave that exist in the world and which do not correspond in theory or in practice to the tense diatonic scales.

16 Some Western musicologists think that Chailley's theories have expired and are not worthy to be quoted anymore. This attitude does not take into account the fascination that Arabian musicologists have towards Chailley's writings, in which he proposes plenty of definitions and explications to various musical phenomena. Furthermore, Chailley's books have been published a while ago and are available while new and recent studies are limited in the West to some specialised musicological periodicals and do not reach the Arab world.

17 Such as Christian Poché, Amnon Shiloah whose writings contain factual errors. For the first, pretending in the New Grove (Poché, 2001, 'ūd', Vol. 26, pp. 25-31) that Rabih Abou-Khalil was the first to play jazz on the 'ūd while Ahmad Abdul-Malik was the first to do that about thirty years earlier (see Abdul-Malik, 1958 and Beyhom, 2007). Shiloah made some errors in his translation of al-Kātib (Shiloah, 1972), especially in calculating the fret emplacement. Other errors appear in his book "La musique dans le monde de l'Islam" [Shiloah, 2002 (1995)] especially when citing Mashāqa's degrees for a double-octave (p. 252). For comments of this matter, see Beyhom, 2005, p. 85, footnote no. 3, and Poché, 2001 cited at the beginning of this note.

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Katy Romanou,
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